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The Week

IN some respects, the second memorandum left with the State Department by the German Embassy outdid in cool brutality anything that had preceded it. "All ships met within that zone will be sunk." No promise of care for neutrals or regard for the lives of non-combatants; simply, all alike shall be sent to the bottom. And as if in explanation of this programme, the *New Yorker Herold* pointed out how easy it would be for Germany to keep back all information about the murderous work of her submarines, so that, with an American ship on the high seas sunk with all on board, the American Government could not know exactly what had happened! Such is now the rule of action of a nation whose representatives at the Hague Conference overflowed with the milk of human kindness. The question of the use of mines was under discussion, and objection was made that Germany's plans would be too hard on neutrals. Thereupon up rose Baron Marschall von Bieberstein to say:

> Military action is not solely governed by the stipulations of international law. There are other factors. Conscience, good sense, and the feeling of the duties imposed by the principles of humanity will be the safest guide for the conduct of sailors and will afford the most effective guarantees against abuse. Officers of the German navy, I proclaim it loudly, will always fulfil in the strictest manner the duties which result from the unwritten law of humanity and civilization.

If this to-day reads like ghastly sarcasm, whose fault is it?

THOUGH England is the arch-enemy against whom the hate of the German people can be most easily invoked, there is likelihood that the purposes of the German war leaders in their latest manœuvre are directed largely to other members of the Entente. The starvation of England is a potent phrase for the stimulation of popular enthusiasm, but the harassing of France, Italy, and Russia, as the German war leaders are aware, is a much more attainable object. Bethmann-Hollweg revealed this plainly in the emphasis he laid on the difficulties over food and coal in France and Italy. Those difficulties undoubtedly exist, and can be made worse by ruthless sea warfare long before England is menaced with famine. In other words, to the extent that there is a war-purpose in Germany's mad step, it is not the speedy ending of the war by a body-blow at the arch-enemy, but intensifying the pressure on other members of the Entente in the direction of a separate peace. And conversely, the great anxiety in England is probably less about the failure of food supplies for the people of the islands than about the greater and costlier efforts necessary to keep Italy and France supplied with coal and Russia with munitions.

WHILE waiting for the U-boats to begin sinking a million tons of British ships a month, "unofficial" Berlin has sunk eight or nine million British tons at a stroke. "Unofficial" estimates have put the available British mercantile fleet at eleven or twelve million tons, instead of the twenty million tons at which Lloyd's places it. But it isn't all of Berlin's unofficial circles that look forward to the subjugation of England in a few months. Capt. Persius, naval editor of the Berlin *Tageblatt*, who in the past has shown no friendliness for England or inclination to overestimate her power, now warns his readers against too sanguine expectations of what the German U-boats can accomplish on the one hand, and of what the British Admiralty will fail to accomplish on the other. Even to the hot-heads the taming of England has been prolonged from a few weeks to a few months.

WHILE the force of circumstances links the fortunes of the Hapsburg Monarchy to those of the German Empire, the Magyars are certain, no matter what the outcome of the war, to pursue their ends with a view chiefly to Magyar interests. That shrewd sense of the practical which Gibbon long ago recognized in the Magyar race has again and again during the present struggle manifested itself in the Parliament and the press of Hungary. And now a financial question must be solved which has come up for discussion more than once in recent months. What is to become of the wives and children of the thousands of Hungarian, or rather Slovak, laborers toiling in American mines? Their families have always been dependent on remittances from the United States. Available figures place the total sum sent last year by Austro-Hungarian citizens, in postal orders and through private bankers, to relatives in the monarchy, at approximately 180 million kronen, equivalent, at the present rate of exchange, to about 23 million dollars. Of this amount 120 million kronen went to Hungary, and, roughly speaking, 70 per cent. of the senders were employed in our mines. Bills of exchange and commercial remittances of whatever kind are not included in this estimate. The possible total isolation of Hungary from the United States, with its certain detriment to the poorest classes of the peasantry, will present itself to the Diet as a very pressing problem.

COMMUNITY of military interests has not been able to stifle, during the past year, the discontent of the Magyars with the growing preponderance of Teutonic influence in Hungarian affairs. The arrogant bearing of German capitalists, who are buying up large estates in Hungary, and the insolence of German officers, who are lording it over Magyar regiments, have more than once led to heated recriminations in the Diet. And the agitation for a Greater Germany, which is intended to tempt Austria-Hungary into a mighty Central European confederation, is now meeting with more and more opposition on the part of Magyar leaders. Thus within the past few weeks Count Apponyi said very emphatically in the Hungarian Diet that Germany as a federal state could never become a model for Hungarian statesmen. And on similar grounds influential Hungarian papers, like *Az Ujság*, protest against the German-Austrian plan of a revived Poland, with the autonomy of Galicia, and the strengthening of Slavic influence. There are troubles ahead for Germany in her present partnership with Hungary. It is not the Entente Powers alone

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who threaten, or seem to threaten, the integrity of the Hapsburg Monarchy. Even that dauntless champion of the Greater Germany of the future, Herr Naumann, could write in cold blood that Austria-Hungary must bow to the will of Germany, for "the thing is necessary, according to the lessons of history, to the further continuance of the Austro-Hungarian Dual Monarchy."

NOTHING less worthy of Mr. Taft than his statement on universal service has come from him since he entered political life. In effect, he says that up to this time conscription has "been of doubtful expediency because opposition to it might have halted all plans for reasonable preparedness," but now, when the people are all excited by the possibility of a foreign war and there is no time to think or talk or consider, the thing is to be put over. In his own words: "Why should we not take advantage of this state of the public mind?" Now, who are the "we" who are to force this foreign abomination upon the peace-loving American people in a time of chaos? Plainly, some self-appointed saviours of society acting on the once familiar big-business idea of voting first and discussing afterward. But voting on conscription is the very last thing that democrats like Mr. Taft want the people to do. They wish to impose universal service from above, and then compel every one who does not agree with their views to submit to their demands or else go to jail. Yet he, too, describes universal service as something called for by "justice and real democracy." If this is the case, why be afraid of submitting it to the people?

AS a matter of fact, we have no hesitation in saying unqualifiedly that the advocates of universal service could never hope to win the American people to their views on the basis that it is democratic or a matter of justice. They might be able to carry it as a measure of military expediency, but a system which takes a year out of the life of the working boy cannot be called a just system when the injury that this does to the boy is contrasted with the effect it has upon the rich man's son. But a simpler answer than this is to ask Mr. Taft and those like him to point to a single happening in continental Europe which proves that universal service has advanced the cause of democracy one whit—unless by increasing the number of Socialists opposed to militarism. In truth, it is the chief buttress of privilege and of monarchy. In Switzerland, universal service has put a business premium upon men who are "service free" because of one defect or another, and, of course, universal service exempts those with minor defects who most need physical training as a corrective. But Mr. Taft ought to read the testimony against universal service by his own Secretary of the Interior, Mr. Walter L. Fisher, who demolishes the proposal from every point of view and particularly from that of military preparedness, which Mr. Fisher advocates. Mr. Fisher points out that no one can say because we have been free from militarism heretofore that we shall continue free from it after we have a million men under arms, in addition to a regular army and navy of 300,000.

IT was inconceivable that in a time of crisis like the present any State or section of this country should be guilty of adding to the anxieties of the nation and to the burdens of the Administration by such action as that threatened by the proposed anti-Japanese legislation in Idaho and Oregon. It is gratifying to record that both States have lost no time in doing their duty by killing the obnoxious measure. What happened in the Far West is not really a case of putting local prejudice above the national necessity. It is rather an illustration of parochialism here in the East. These measures have no doubt been under consideration for some time in Idaho and Oregon, but have aroused no attention elsewhere because they had not yet led up to a crisis; it is the crisis that makes good newspaper copy. The sudden danger as regards Germany, by turning people's minds to all the possibilities involved in war, threw Idaho and Oregon into sudden relief.

AFTER the vote in the House overriding the President's veto of the Immigration bill, there was little doubt that the measure would become a law. Of the Representatives voting, 25 more than the necessary two-thirds were for the bill, despite the veto. And in the Senate the vote stood 62 to 19. Thus the literacy test of immigrants will soon, for the first time in our history, be enforced. This departure from our historic policy might seem more defensible if it had not been brought about under false pretences. The literacy test was simply seized upon as a convenient pretext by those who favored restriction of immigration by hook or by crook. They could not get it directly—could not pass a bill in plain terms to shut out immigrants beyond a certain number—and so they set about it by a side wind. They do not really care a snap of the finger whether an immigrant can read and write. They merely desire to keep him out. It is a restrictionist move, in its essence. But we are bound to admit that it is a move which has been slowly gathering an irresistible political force behind it. President Wilson was probably aware that he could not overcome it. But he consistently stood by his convictions on the subject, and did his full duty.

PRESIDENT WILSON was only reaffirming a position taken during the campaign in endorsing the amendment to the Legislative, Executive, and Judicial Appropriation bill, placing all postmasters under civil service regulations—a position taken by Mr. Hughes also. As the amendment was offered by Senator Poindexter, both parties may not unfairly be regarded as inclined to favor the clause. The special force of the President's announcement is the effect it may have upon the retention of the amendment in conference. The Senators from New York and Illinois have particular reason for a kindly feeling towards a way out of the complications which have arisen in connection with the appointment of the Postmaster at the two largest cities in the country. But they are by no means the only members of Congress who have seen a great light in the matter of the merit system. At first regarded as a menace to their most cherished prerogative, it has gradually revealed itself as a happy solution of the problem of what to do with the army of office-seekers. If only George William Curtis and his associates had presented the proposal this side up, instead of appealing to higher motives, the day of "deserving" Democrats and Republicans might have ended much sooner.

THE Rivers and Harbors bill recently passed by the House carries $28,000,000 for continuing improvements, of which the President partly approves; and $10,000,000 for new projects, many of which are unjustifiable.

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Its mixed texture makes it doubtful whether it will be vetoed, as the Public Buildings bill certainly will be if passed in its present shape. Passage of the measure, which Mr. Frear and others have attacked as zealously as ever, was most notable for the elimination of an amendment, offered by Representative Borland at the last moment, to create a commission of Cabinet officers and Congressmen to report on a more comprehensive system of rivers and harbors improvement, and on the possibility of closer coöperation between Federal and local agencies. The amendment was ill-drafted and was defeated on a point of order; but besides registering the discontent in Congress with the bill, it points anew to the course which will some day have to be followed. The best effort that enemies of "pork" can now make is to unite behind a measure for a permanent commission to govern expenditures for the improvement of waterways, of the sort which the inquiry proposed by Borland would certainly have recommended; and behind a similar measure for a commission on public structures.

RENEWAL of the proposal for a permanent Rivers and Harbors Commission comes from Representative Frear, whose minority report on the measure just passed calls it one of the worst examples of the "hit-or-miss, grab-and-get-what-you-can" method. He would have his commission constituted at once, and would grant it $15,000,000 for continuing old improvements. New projects, he suggests, should be provided for by separate bills, not by one general omnibus measure. The force of the demand for an expert commission may be gauged from the fact that he questions even the estimates of the army engineers for 1917. They ask, as he says, about $18,000,000 for the continuance of eight major projects. But he affirms:

> Deducting from glittering commercial statistics sand, timber, and coal, all actual river commerce reported on the eight projects probably does not equal that handled at the little harbor of Ashland, Wis., nor one-half that of Milwaukee, nor Chicago, nor one-quarter that of Boston, Buffalo, Cleveland, or many other harbors that could be named. All the actual commerce on these eight river projects will not reach 10 per cent. of the waterway freight handled at the Superior Duluth Harbor.

His view may be extreme, but there is no doubt that while the Government is pushed for money, Congress is preparing to waste large sums upon unprofitable waterways. The 131 Representatives who voted against the bill constitute a nucleus that might fight strongly for a proper commission.

AT the National Conference on Negro Migration some idea was to be got of the force loosened by the mediævalism of the South and the cupidity of the Northern employer working together. Already a reaction has begun in the South, but so far the North has failed to realize the problem confronting it. For years the South has been working up a situation ready for a match. That match, a two-headed one, has been applied and the wail from the Southern press—with a few notable exceptions, like the Atlanta *Constitution*—shows that the flames have scorched whole districts. One head of the match consists of the increasing ravages of the boll-weevil and the disastrous floods of last summer; the other head is the desire of Northern employers to find a substitute for the immigrant labor cut off by the war. No irresponsible lumberman leaving behind him a waste of fallen timber is more to blame for a conflagration than the Southern press which has winked at lynchings, mob violence, and Jim-Crowism in transportation and schools, yet which, when negroes avail themselves by the hundred thousand of the chance to better their condition in the North, has the effrontery to wave the doctrine that "the Southern white man is the negro's best friend." That the motive for the rush northward has not been merely economic, but has been made acute by constant dread of mob violence, is proved by the exodus from those counties which aided Georgia to lead all other States in the lynching record of last year, and by the fact that emigration from South Carolina became significant only after the Abbeville outrage.

IF the Northerner thinks that the problem of migration ends with the Mason and Dixon line, he is mistaken. The negro migrant has brought that problem into the cities and towns of the North. The representative of one railway testified that it had imported 12,000 negro laborers for work in the North, and that only 2,500 had stuck to their jobs, most of the balance having returned South, he "thought." The probabilities are, however, that many of them drifted into the nearest cities. Miss Helen B. Pendleton, of Newark, where the negro colony has about doubled in size since last April, put the problem picturesquely when she said: "We cannot move people around in great numbers with no more preparation than a pay envelope." The conference brought out isolated attempts already made to cope with the situation. The executive secretary of the Detroit Urban League outlined a programme based in part on what his League had achieved. The Conference also adopted resolutions suggesting ways in which the problem could be handled in both its Northern and its Southern aspects.

THE presidents of Amherst, Colorado, Hobart, and Earlham Colleges, as a committee on academic freedom and tenure of office, presented to the recent session of the Association of American Colleges in Chicago a report differing sharply in some particulars from that made by a similar committee to the American Association of University Professors. The chief difference is implied in the declaration that "the final authority with regard to the engaging or retention of teachers should be—not the students or alumni, or even the faculty, but the trustees acting in conjunction with the president." The committee would willingly see an organization of university professors determine the professional standing of colleagues under fire, but it would not allow such an association's decision that certain professors were fit for their positions to determine the executive action in all cases. Fools should be suffered as gladly as possible so long as they do not jeopardize the institution; but when men put aside large considerations of the good of the college as a whole to satisfy some personal view, they can be endured no longer. It is submitted that the president and trustees know these considerations as no others can. As for academic freedom, the committee of presidents merely draws a distinction between freedom and individualism. Its maxim that academic freedom is satisfied when individual initiative receives full room to play within a fixed circle of official relationships is vague so long as no concrete applications are made of it. But in effect the report is an assertion that the tribe of college presidents has its rights even as has the tribe of college professors.

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Germany's Worst Blunder

HAVING begun the European war by an act of perfidy, the German Government now seeks to end it by an act of criminal insanity. In a mad lurch away from the efforts to bring about peace by reason and negotiation, the German authorities announced that on Thursday of last week they would begin to run amuck on the high seas. A Malay pirate could not have made the announcement more brutally. "From February 1, 1917, sea traffic will be stopped with every available weapon and without further notice." And mark that this was no sudden determination. The step must have been decided upon three or four weeks ago. The German notification spoke of "instructions given to the commanders of German submarines." Many of them are now far from German ports, waiting to commit murder; and must have had their orders more than a fortnight ago. So that while the neutral world was working for peace, and confidently expecting that the German Government would make known the terms it hoped to obtain, and while all the foreign dispatches and diplomatic indications pointed to continued opposition by the Kaiser and his Chancellor to the policy of frightfulness on the sea, the desperate resolve had already been taken.

It seems the act of a Government gone mad. The German Chancellor has expressed the willingness of his Empire to join the League of Nations to Enforce Peace. Well, if such a League were already in existence, it would be the first duty of the other Powers to use all their resources against a nation proposing what Germany has now proposed. For not only is the indiscriminate sinking of passenger vessels on the ocean, with reckless disregard of the loss of life among non-combatants, a defiant violation of international law and a crime in the eyes of man and God, but it is the most insolent attack upon the peace and security of the whole world ever made. Upon neutral rights Germany would wipe her feet as upon a door-mat. Her own professions and her pledges to the United States she would make appear only a blackmailing attempt to force us to do her will.

We firmly believe that this is the greatest blunder made by the German rulers in their two years of heaping blunder upon blunder. Their present decision throws the most sinister light upon their diplomatic activity of the past year, as regards the United States. The worst interpretations of it they have done their best to justify. Their mistake extends even to the matter of form. Never did the German Foreign Office show itself more stupid than in the language it now uses about Belgium and American interest in that unhappy but indomitable country. With what is intended to be grace, but what is nothing but clumsiness, the German note spoke of the "warm and cordial sympathy" for Belgium that is "felt in the United States." But what has been the root of this feeling. Of course, the indignant conviction of Americans that Germany had been guilty of the most monstrous wrongs against the Belgians from the first day of the war until now. And it is to appease this flaming and unquenchable sentiment that the German Government announced its condescending intention to make such a peace with Belgium that she "should not be used again by Germany's enemies for the purpose of instigating continuous hostile intrigues"! Saying nothing of the effrontery of this—its piling of hypocrisy upon cruelty—could it be matched for utter *Dummheit?* We should have said not unless we had read at the same time the German proposal graciously to permit one American passenger steamer a week to sail for Europe without being sunk on sight. Such intolerable dictation, under the guise of a friendly concession, could not have been conceived or phrased anywhere but in the German Foreign Office—or an insane asylum.

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The breaking off of diplomatic relations is inherently serious. It is an expression of national displeasure. But everything depends upon the spirit in which such a sovereign act is done; and Mr. Wilson's spirit was finely attuned to the occasion. Without a particle of bluster, avoiding every word that might inflame Americans or exasperate Germans, he came forward with the air of a Chief Executive charged with a solemn and painful duty. And he was careful to link his action with renewed avowals of the friendliest feeling for the German people, with devout wishes that hostilities might be prevented, and with all the aspirations which the previous week he had uttered in the name of the United States for the opportunity of every nation to enjoy peaceful development under the guarantees of liberty and justice.

In all this, the President pitched the true note for the country. If there is in Washington marked calmness, an absence of spread-eagleism, it is due in large part to Mr. Wilson's example in controlling his own spirit. And in the response which has come to him from the country—from the press, from men of leading, from Governors—there is a reflection of the President's own attitude. Everywhere there is regret that the break with Germany had to come. Everywhere there is the conviction that the recent course of the German Government left the President no alternative. Everywhere there is the hope that the German rulers may come to a better mind and that war may be averted. If the President was driven to act as he did, it was well that he acted quickly. The force of a decision to sever relations with Germany was plainly heightened by its being arrived at promptly—so long as the issue was squarely raised by the German Government and there was no way of escaping it. But the great thing was to make it clear to the considerate judgment of mankind that the Government of the United States was moving without jingoism or vengeful feeling, and only under the compelling motive of a duty to its own people and to the neutrals of the whole world. For doing this in a way best to exemplify the national dignity, we must all be grateful to the President.

The thoughts of Americans to-day are not bent upon war, if it can possibly be avoided. They will be looking eagerly, first of all, for some token from Germany that the indefensible position taken in the German note will be modified. In fact, some minor modifications have already been made. The limits of the war zone have been altered. Our Government has been notified that the original stipulation of only one American steamship a week will be withdrawn, and that more frequent sailings will be allowed. In themselves, these concessions amount to little. They are still conceived in the incredible and intolerable spirit of German dictation. But they do betray two things—first, that the German plan was hastily drawn up and is not final; secondly, that the German Government was anxious to placate American opinion. Now, it is to be hoped, and it is possible, that this anxiety will be deepened in Germany as soon as the full meaning of the President's

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action is known there. It will be perceived that if the German authorities counted upon delay or dodging by the President, if they thought he would shrink from meeting the challenge definitely made to him in the German note, they had again grievously misreckoned. And there might easily be a belief that ordinary prudence, and an eye to the future of Germany, dictated a retreat by the German Government while yet there is time. This might take the form of renewed assurances that no American ships would be attacked without warning and providing for the safety of passengers, as indeed was done in the case of the Housatonic. It might come in the shape of a statement of Germany's terms of peace, with an explicit request that the United States shall come forward to mediate. All this is, of course, only speculative. But President Wilson left the door wide open to the German Government to offer a reconsideration of any kind. And in the present manifestations of public opinion in this country, especially in the wide declarations of loyalty by the German-American press, the Kaiser and his advisers must see that they have to do with a substantially united American people.

Pending the final decision of the German Government in view of the action taken by the President, and clinging to the hope of peace so long as no overt act of lawless brutality against us is committed, it is for the American people to seek to be as cool and steady and patient as their President. No mad rush into extreme military measures should be thought of. Already there is loose talk of instantly enacting universal military service and at once conscripting 2,000,000 young men. But if war should come, it is certain that the Government could count upon all the volunteers whom it could train and equip. A break of diplomatic relations should not be permitted to be an excuse for a hasty break with all American traditions. And we should not for a moment forget that an impetuous and unnecessary plunge into war would imperil more lives than our own. The Belgian Relief Commission is quick to make public its fear that war between the United States and Germany would be like a death sentence upon hundreds of thousands of Belgians. Poles and Servians and Armenians would have a similar doom hanging over them. Every consideration of this kind, with many others, counsels giving heed to the President's sober words. With him, we must desire to avoid an armed conflict with Germany. With him, we must refuse to believe that the German people are hostile to us until we are obliged to believe it.

Germany Contra Mundum

THAT President Wilson would make a prompt and strong appeal to neutral nations was a foregone conclusion. The text of the instructions sent to American diplomatic representatives in all neutral countries has been made public. This is a good specimen of "diplomacy in the open." It lets American citizens know what their Government is about. At the same time, it lets the world know. In particular, it gives to the German Government added warning of the folly and peril of its announced policy of lawlessness and inhumanity on the seas. The German note of January 31 appealed, in terms, for the sympathy of neutrals. Already it is apparent that instead will come abhorrence.

Most significant of all the actual developments of neutral sentiment, outside the United States, are those reported from South America. How Holland feels in her heart, what Switzerland really thinks, cannot be in much doubt. But from nations situated as they are near the mouth of the hell of war, we ought not to expect any pronounced and decisive governmental action. Their adherence to the principles laid down by the United States will necessarily be general and guarded. But Brazil and Argentina and Chili are freer to speak out. And from each of them we already have a clear endorsement of the position taken by President Wilson. In Brazil this is virtually official. The Minister for Foreign Affairs has publicly stated that the German note is a "fact entirely new" which creates a new situation for the Brazilian Government. Dr. Lauro Muller added that this situation, while different in degree from that presented to the United States, was "identical in substance." And he significantly added that "a continental policy traditionally Pan-American will have much to do with shaping the response which Brazil will make to the German note." Mr. Wilson, in his address on peace to the Senate, spoke more than once of the principles of "the Americas." His present efforts to effect a Pan-American solidarity of opinion against German terrorism on the ocean may bring about a Pan-Americanism more tangible and influential than any we have yet had. On this subject, the *Jornal do Comercio*, of Rio de Janeiro, one of the great newspapers of the world, speaks of the German plan of ruthlessness as an "attack upon the sovereignty of all nations," and declares:

> All American nations form a social and moral unit. Pan-Americanism would be a vain phrase if it were not associated in singleness of thought with the idea of defence against a common menace. We do not doubt that Brazil will take action and that the Pan-American chancelleries will do their duty.

Such utterances, and the action which they foreshadow, are ominous of the isolation in which Germany increasingly finds herself. The prospect cannot fail to disquiet German statesmen, as distinct from German militarists who see everything red and shout that they are ready to face a world in arms. It may be true that Germany has nothing immediately to fear, in a military sense, from a union against her of all the Americas. But what would German bankers and shipping men and captains of industry say if asked to give their honest opinion of the far-reaching effects of a policy which would set Germany against the New World, if not *contra mundum?* They would tremble for the future. For if Germany, with or without a victory over the Allies, is to set about recovering from her stupendous losses, and to provide for shouldering her crushing burden of debt, she must be able to count upon restoring her great overseas trade—especially with the United States and South America. But how can she look for that if she now deliberately but needlessly sets the hand of all those countries against her? The German rulers and the German people have many staggering considerations to think of to-day, but none that ought more to give them pause than this grouping of neutral nations in opposition to them.

This coming together of the neutrals is, in fact, a sort of informal beginning of the League to Enforce Peace. If the plan had not existed, it would have had to be invented now. For as the nations have seen the eclipse of war shadowing area after area of the earth's surface, the conviction has been deepening that civilization will deserve to go to wreck if it does not devise some means to make it

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impossible for a preventable calamity like this war ever to occur again. In this sense, the rallying of neutral nations by the side of the United States signifies a movement for world-peace—ultimate if it cannot be speedy. And if a resort to force is compelled by the infatuated recklessness of the German Government, it should not mean a war of the ordinary kind, but an exertion of the police-power of the world to keep a desperate and dangerous nation in order.

The Starvation of England

IF German confidence in ruthless sea-warfare is what Bethmann-Hollweg declares it to be, there leaps to the mind the parallel between the criminal invasion of Belgium which began the war and this latest adventure into outlawry which is intended to bring it to a speedy close. The excuse in both instances is the same—the law of necessity. The true purpose is the same in both cases—the hope of obtaining a swift decision before a surprised world can rally itself. If Paris was taken in four weeks, it mattered little whether England came to the aid of France; she would be too late. If England can be starved out in two or three months, Germany is ready to take the "consequences." In other words, the United States might enter the war, but it would be all over before we could make ourselves felt. The question of English resources against starvation is of the essence of the problem. What does "starvation" mean, and how quickly can England be reduced to helplessness? It is a complex problem, and we can deal with it in only the broadest approximations. And since it is impossible to state the degree of deprivation which a nation will endure before it collapses, the safest method of approach is to ask, What must the German submarines accomplish in order to reduce England to the condition in which Germany herself stands in the matter of food?

Two arithmetical factors enter into the calculation. The first is that before the outbreak of the war England imported probably two-thirds of her foodstuffs. The second is that England imported three times as much food per head of the population as Germany did. That is to say, the respective food-import needs of the two nations were 66 per cent. and 22 per cent. The Allied blockade has virtually cut off German imports. Such food as drifts into Germany from the Scandinavian countries, from Holland, and from Switzerland would amount to a very small percentage of her former imports. In other words, the German population has been deprived of nearly 20 per cent. of its food requirements for more than two years—and it has not yet been starved into submission. If the English people are to suffer the same percentage of deprivation, England must lose a little more than one-third of her importations of food. Since food will take precedence even over transport of munitions and troops, it follows that England must lose at least one-third of her shipping tonnage now available for trade purposes. At the end of 1916 British merchant shipping was approximately the same as it was at the beginning of the war, a little over twenty million tons. Allow for the diversion of shipping to military uses, and it yet appears that Germany must sink something like five million tons of English ships before England is as near to "starvation" as Germany is to-day. How many more ships England must lose before she cries for peace—before, that is, she acknowledges the loss of her supremacy on the sea and the end of her Empire—is a matter the reader can guess for himself.

This, then, is the basic fact. In order to reduce England to the same pinch of hunger that she suffers, Germany must sink twice as many tons of British shipping as she has sunk during the first twenty-nine months of war. Berlin's own estimate of Britain's losses in the merchant marine up to the end of 1916 is 2,794,000 tons. Germany must sink three times that amount of tonnage and more before she brings England to her knees; and she must do it, by her own account, in a few months. If she is to accomplish that object in six months, she must sink three times as many ships per month as she has been sinking during the recent period of intensified submarine warfare. If she is to accomplish it in a year, she must increase her submarine activity by 50 per cent. But when we speak of a year we destroy the very foundation of the German case. Even half a year would be fatal to the professed object with which Germany has flung her challenge to the world. As the months roll by and the German people see the process of shortening war by ruthlessness on the sea stretching out even as the process of shortening the war by ruthlessness on land has stretched out for nearly two years and a half, what will become of the unalterable will to conquer? What they will see is that, just as the consequence of the law of necessity in Belgium was war with England, the consequence of the law of necessity may be war with the United States. The Kaiser has staked everything on a sudden stroke. We see just what that sudden stroke must accomplish.

If German confidence is what it professes to be, we must imagine not a "considerable increase" in Germany's submarine strength, as Bethmann-Hollweg put it, but a stupendous increase; an effort and a surprise compared to which Germany's exertions earlier in the war when she was stronger and fresher would be as child's play. And we must imagine, on the other hand, that in England there has been no expectation of the peril and no provision for it. We must assume that there is no basis to the stories of huge fleets of small anti-submarine craft which England has been building; that there has been no provision in the form of destroyers and light cruisers for convoy purposes; that there has been no preparation for putting guns on merchantmen. If, on the other hand, we visualize the details of England's probable action in this war to the death; the storing up of food supplies; the enforcement of a food ration; the opening up of new agricultural land; the arming of merchantmen; the maximum effort of a naval Power and an Empire fighting for existence, we can see what the Kaiser's U-boats must accomplish to shatter England.

Drifting in the Caribbean

IT was only the other day that the officer commanding the United States naval vessels in Santo Domingo waters arbitrarily removed the Santo Dominican Minister in Washington. Now we learn that the American military government in that subjugated republic has appointed a commission to recast the entire diplomatic service of the country to suit its own tastes; and that the reason for the summary removal of the Dominican chargé d'affaires

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at Havana was that this gentleman made statements about our American acts in Santo Domingo which our autocratic naval dictator there declared to be "false and inflammatory." It was this same dictator, Capt. Knapp, of the navy, who established a censorship over all press dispatches to the United States until it was summarily quashed by the Navy Department. But it is still apparently true that, with the Prussianism of von Bissing in Belgium, Capt. Knapp has ordered the suppression of all the Santo Dominican newspapers which dare to criticise any act of our naval officers, while the Santo Dominicans who are opposing our invasion are characterized as "bandits" and are being run to earth or shot.

Now, we well know, if Germans had committed such acts, how stirred we should be by the pulling down by force of a small nationality just when the Allies were shedding so much blood to establish the principle that small nationalities should be inviolate. But it is Americans who are doing it, and this, of course, puts a different aspect upon the whole situation. Washington is, moreover, so busy with a thousand different things that no one can take time to consider what is happening in the Caribbean, or whither we are drifting in those waters. Besides Santo Domingo, we are holding down Haiti by force of arms; the Nicaraguan Government is upheld by bayonets of our marines, and, because of the presence of overawing American naval vessels in Nicaraguan harbors, the Opposition there declined to vote in the Presidential election last autumn. As for Colombia, our relations with that injured republic have been discreditable. In addition, Porto Rico knocks in vain at the door of Congress, asking for the grant of full citizenship—Porto Rico, where three men have just been sent to jail because they committed the crime of speaking of Gov. Yager and Attorney-General Kern as "despots."

This is Imperialism of the rankest kind, which may readily be quoted against us abroad by those who do not approve of our efforts to end the war. But it is not for fear of any foreign comment that we are drawing attention to this, but because these acts reflect upon our good name, offset the excellent effect of our refusal to intervene in Mexico, and are bound to cause unrest and fear in every country to the south of us. Surely, public and official attention ought to be directed to this whole Caribbean situation. The public has never expressed itself as to this policy, nor had an opportunity to do so. The Senate Foreign Affairs Committee lacks, alas! a Charles Sumner or anybody approaching his stature to deal with these problems, and both the American press and the public remain in densest ignorance. Is it conceivable that the American public would put up with such interference in an election as took place in Nicaragua last autumn if it had been cognizant of it? Far more than in England and elsewhere, with us foreign developments of this character go on behind a screen. We do not publish gray-books or yellow-books giving the whole story. There are belated publications by the State Department, but these contain only what the authorities are pleased to include. Our Congressmen, as Mr. Wilson himself has pointed out, lack the power to cross-examine members of the Cabinet on the floor of the House of Representatives, not being granted the privilege accorded to members of the House of Commons, and so one direct and powerful means of probing what is happening in our foreign affairs is not available.

All this merely reinforces the plainly great need of the establishment of an American foreign policy. Until we do adopt one, those who feel that we must prepare great armaments are preparing without wisdom or foresight. Until we make our purposes clear, the utterances of sensationalists like Rear-Admiral Peary, that we must carry our flag to the Straits of Magellan, will do us great harm throughout the entire South American continent. Until we live up to Mr. Wilson's promise in his Mobile speech, that we will not take any more territory to the south of us, we shall woo in vain South American business and friendship. Until we agree to respect the rights of small Caribbean nationalities and treat respectfully the citizens of those whom we have annexed or purchased, our moral protests as to Servia and Belgium must lack convincing force. The governmental problems in our island possessions alone afford vast opportunity for statesmanship. Are we, a republic, to continue to give overbearing Governors to Porto Rico? Are we really to turn over our new Danish islands to army or navy for administration? These are questions that need prompt and clear-cut answers.

A Statesman and a Scholar

LORD CROMER'S death removes one admitted to be among the building statesmen of his time. It is not so generally known that he was a man of philosophical temper, whose studies of government and politics were profound, and whose remarks about them were penetrating and sagacious. He was also a devotee of literature. Only last year he founded a prize to help keep alive the love of Greek in England. His own general writings had a wide range, and were plentifully bedewed with wisdom garnered from the past. If he had not been a great administrator, he might have been a great writer. His pen was active to the last; and no more searching articles than Lord Cromer's were written on Germany's mad ambition to bestride Europe, and the stern duty laid upon the Allies of withstanding it to the death. It is thus a man of varied attainments as well as of marked achievements whom death has taken.

His chief life-work was as British Agent—virtually autocratic ruler—in Egypt. The success which he had in bringing about order in the distracted Egyptian finances, and in undertaking vast projects of internal improvement, has often been recounted. He was the favorite example of a great modern Pro-Consul. His own story of his labors in Egypt, as told in the two volumes of his fascinating "Modern Egypt," was modest in the extreme. He was more intent upon explaining the things done than upon exalting any of the participants in them. His picture of Gen. Gordon in the Sudan was fully appreciative of the man's flashing heroism and knightly impulses, but did not fail to show the insubordinate strain in him which made him an uncertain weapon in the hands of any Government. Lord Cromer's estimate of Kitchener was fair and just, but not enthusiastic—the tribute of one man of business to another. Reviewing the scope of England's work in Egypt under his own direction, Lord Cromer was not unduly sanguine. Of the positive benefits conferred he allowed no question; but of the principles which underlay the British administration of Egypt, and of its success in the higher sense of having conciliated native opinion and put Egypt in the way of standing on her own feet, he

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came to have serious doubts. With a touch of melancholy he recorded the fact that, despite all that the English had done for Egypt, they were cordially disliked there, while the French continued to be much better thought of by the natives.

From his Egyptian experience Lord Cromer derived, at any rate, much insight into the workings of government, and a sure grasp of the main characteristics of man the political animal. His book of essays on political and literary subjects has not only charm of style, but the appeal of sound judgment and shrewd application. And his services to the public life of England continued in many useful ways after his retirement from Egypt. He was an incisive speaker in the House of Lords, where he had the ear of his immediate audience and of the country not only for what he said, but for the old experience which in him attained to something of prophetic strain. In questions of public finance he was a master. Speaking, on one occasion, of a rather rash financial bill in Parliament, he said that his rule in Egypt had been never to authorize an expenditure until he knew exactly where the money to meet it was coming from. He admitted that a Minister in a democracy had often to yield to popular pressure in such matters—a pressure from which he, in Egypt, had been free. But he added, dryly, that arithmetic was the same in England as in Egypt. Yet London—also Washington—is averse to believing that. To Lord Cromer, haphazard public finance was as intolerable as would have been muddled banking methods in the house of Barings.

In England, Lord Cromer lived to become something like a prop of the state. He was felt to be a sure-footed man to whom the public could look for counsel in times of emergency. In this respect, he almost came to fill the niche that had been occupied by the late Duke of Devonshire. When Cromer was appointed last summer on the commission to inquire into the Gallipoli campaign, everybody believed that the whole truth would be laid bare. To complete that task he did not live; but he lived long enough to receive in full measure recognition of his rare powers of mind and unusual weight of character.

Language and Love

THE great Viennese philologist, Hugo Schuchardt, having read Dr. Charles W. Eliot's reply to the manifesto "An die Kulturwelt" of the ninety-three German intellectuals, sought to account for the foreigner's misunderstanding of the German mind by saying: "Language is almighty. Professor Eliot probably reads a hundred pages of English to one page of German. If German were read more, we should be better understood." The Germans, Professor Schuchardt admits, are themselves to blame for this slight upon their language: They have been over-keen to learn and speak foreign tongues and, in their own country, welcomed the foreigner in his own speech. That must not happen again. Let the German go on learning as many languages as he can master, for knowledge is power, but he must not speak any other but his own; he must listen with a hundred ears, but speak with only one tongue. So only can he compel the foreigner to learn his German, and that knowledge will give the foreigner an insight into the German mind, which, up to now, has been sadly misunderstood.

Is there any ground for the professor's assurance that the stranger, supposing that he lets himself be forced to speak the German language, would thereby become converted to a lover and admirer of the German mind? He was, of course, thinking of the Frenchman and the Anglo-Saxon when he spoke of the foreigner's ignoring his language. But predictions as to the beneficial effects of a better knowledge of that language abroad should be tested by established facts resulting from conditions similar to those desiderata on which Professor Schuchardt bases his forecast. These facts he could have found in Holland. Here is a country where German is a compulsory subject in all secondary schools. Not German alone, it is true, as the study of English and French is also enforced. But Professor Schuchardt cannot have thought of a future in which the foreigner, be he Frenchman or Anglo-Saxon, would struggle to master German to the exclusion of any other language. German, therefore, has received a fair trial in Holland to prove its capacities as an engenderer of admiration and understanding of the German mentality, whose workings it serves to express. And this chance has not been neglected by the Germans themselves. The teaching of the language, enforced by the Netherland Government, was strongly and admirably supported by the German book-trade. Whereas Dutch booksellers experienced the greatest difficulties in getting books from Paris and London, the German publishers developed an amazing activity, supplying the bookshops of Holland with an exhaustless stock of their output. Requests for books to be sent on approval were immediately complied with, reductions were granted exceeding those that were offered elsewhere, copies, for purposes of review, were sent to scientific periodicals, and "with the publisher's compliments" to university professors and teachers. German "Elementarbücher" and "Handbücher" have thus become the guides of Dutch students in various fields of science, and Dutch publishers find it difficult to compete with these "Führer," as their German colleagues, thanks to a larger market than they command, can offer their books at the lowest possible prices.

In this way the school impresses Dutch children with the importance of German scholarship: classical authors are read in cheap German editions, classical geography and the history of Greek and Latin literature and art are taught with the aid of German atlases and illustrated manuals. And thus persuaded that the Germans possess the monopoly of learning, the student goes to the university and finds this conviction corroborated by the list of literature recommended to him by his professors. Dutch tolerance in this respect even goes to the extent of university professors allowing their students to write their doctor's dissertation in German. The same favor would, of course, be granted for French or English, but I have seldom seen a dissertation in one of these languages. Only recently a professor of history in the Dutch University of Utrecht was allowed, by the Royal Netherlands Academy of Sciences in Amsterdam, to publish in the transactions of the Academy a German treatise on a subject of purely Dutch historical interest: "Die Fälschungen der Egmonder Annalisten, zugleich ein Beitrag zur Entstehungsgeschichte der Utrechter Stadtverfassung." When Holberg, the Danish playwright, visited Holland, in the early eighteenth century, he was astonished, he tells us in his 415th Epistle, at the Dutch rage for purifying their language

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from all foreign dross: "It seems strange that a nation which, in religious matters, proves itself so tolerant and shelters all sects will not give hospitality to a foreign expression." If Professor Schuchardt visited this scene of Holberg's travels, he would not repeat the latter's complaint. He would be pleased to find how well the German publisher has done his work. But the greater would be his disappointment at discovering that, in spite of this peaceful penetration, the bulk of the people do neither love nor understand the German mind. The Dutch give the lie to his forecast.

"Language is almighty," says Professor Schuchardt. It is, indeed, but only by the grace of the nation whose heart it interprets. Grace lacking, might may command the intellect's esteem, but never win the heart's affection. It is not by studying the language of the German as we now know him that the foreigner will ever learn to love the German nature with the same feeling that the French evoke in the foreigner's heart, a feeling thus beautifully expressed by a Dutch writer: "Tout homme a deux pays: le sien, et puis, La France."

A. J. BARNOUW

The Hague, December 16

Realpolitik at Stake

BY her decision to give free rein to submarine warfare, without regard for the dictates of international convention and of humanity, Germany has at length yielded utterly to the spirit of the most notorious of her political philosophers. We now behold the apotheosis of *Realpolitik*. Yet it is well to remember that, however widely disseminated among the German people this philosophy has become, it has met with severe critics at home, and that, in event of its failure to crush the Entente, it runs a great risk of being entirely discredited even in Germany.

Among the foremost critics of German imperialism is Dr. Friedrich Wilhelm Foerster, professor of ethics and social science at the University of Munich, whose exposure of the seeds of the national egotism in the policies of Bismarck has given rise to a furious controversy. As the discussion has received scant attention in this country, an abstract of Dr. Foerster's views may help to acquaint Americans with the great chances which *Realpolitik* is taking by its latest move. When the German Chancellor stated the other day that Germany was willing to stake all on the submarine campaign, he was probably as well aware as any that the existence of Germany was not so much at stake as her special brand of imperialism.

I.

The controversy proper began with an article by Dr. Foerster which came out in the January, 1916, number of the German pacifist organ *Friedenswarte*, published by the well-known Alfred H. Fried, and at present appearing in Zurich. It is entitled "Bismarck's Werk im Lichte der grossdeutschen Kritik." In it he called attention to the half-forgotten politician and publicist Constantin Frantz (1817-1891), who in 1882 had subjected Bismarck's whole activity to a searching criticism. According to Frantz, Bismarck's greatest mistake lay in estranging the German nation from its proper mission. Ancient Germany was not a national but a super-national institution. German it was only in so far as the German nation functioned as its vehicle. And only a federative state like the ancient German Empire could for centuries function, in this manner, as the carrier of international tasks, its constitution furnishing on a small scale the prototype for the free, interactive development of independent nationalities. The federative system had struck deep roots in the national character, and thus Germany had been able to attach to herself politically a considerable number of foreign nationalities without subjugating them to one dominant national ideal.

This development was interrupted by the Religious Wars, and when Prussia, by a policy of blood and iron, forced the German states into a new union, the spirit of "particularism"—as the divergent strivings of the petty German states were called—again showed its head in bitter class struggles and partisan strife. Bismarck's attempt to remove this century-old national weakness by all too simple remedies did irreparable damage, and not least by totally confusing German political thought for a generation.

Centralization, Frantz argued, is, to be sure, more effective than particularism; but federalism is more effective still. A progressive development in organization is rendered possible only by the federative system. The centralization of Germany begun by Prussia brought about a sudden break with the old international traditions of the nation. Instead of doing away with the German Confederacy, Prussia ought to have extended it to form a great Central European Union reaching from the mouth of the Scheldt to the mouth of the Danube. This alone would have been a sufficient basis for a lasting European peace; whereas the results of 1866 rather laid on Germany the curse of preparedness and "converted the whole continent into a drill-ground." Being situated in the centre of it, Germany was, of course, compelled to secure herself on all sides; but her defence would have been rendered immeasurably more secure if the old Germany had become the organizing nucleus of Europe and had federated herself with neighboring states, especially in the East. Bismarck's vaunted work, the erection of the new German Empire on a national basis, resulted, according to Frantz, first, in a diminution of territory (because Austria was forced out); and, in the second place, in a fatal surrender of the world-organizing mission so firmly embedded in the texture of German civilization. A really far-sighted Prussian statesman would have given the impulse by inaugurating a federation between Poland and Prussia in which the former could have preserved her autonomy and renewed her ancient kingship. An excellent opportunity for this move was offered by the Polish rebellion of 1862. Next, Prussia and Austria together could have reorganized the old German Confederacy, and entrance into it might easily have been asked by the Balkan states. In this fashion Germany might again have become a world Power, with its back protected against its most dangerous neighbor, Russia, and thus also might have been secure from attacks from the west.

II.

Who can deny, asks Dr. Foerster, that Frantz gauged matters aright, and that the last decades have demonstrated

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the correctness of his views? One understands how short-sighted Bismarck's celebrated "Nationalpolitik" really was and to how large a degree he lacked any deeper philosophic insight into German history and the whole world situation. He always boasted that he was a "Realpolitiker," who, without being influenced by doctrines or theories, was able at all times to adapt his policies to the exigencies of a given situation. But it happens to just such "practical" men that, precisely by reason of insufficient penetration into the *causes* of a situation, they remain attached to the passing conceptions of their own times and so build their entire edifice on a foundation of shifting sand.

German historians of recent times have, Dr. Foerster continues in substance, unfortunately dedicated themselves altogether to the glorification of the national principle. To the noble and finely cultured Ranke it seemed a matter of overwhelming importance that German-Prussian preponderance had supplanted that of France; but he never asked what the world had gained thereby, or whether Germany had not really jeopardized her most important preponderance; nor did it occur to him that sound world politics might in the future envisage greater tasks than fighting about "preponderance." Likewise he failed entirely to recognize the difference between the old and the new—between the old German Empire, which was born of the organizing spirit of Christianity, and the new Empire, whose spirit is heathen. To quote Frantz again: "As for Christianity, the German braggadocio of our times is a blow directly in its face. . . . In truth, to see progress in a Christian sense from 1866 to the exploits of 1870 one would need to have the faith of a court preacher. . . . A fact it is, unfortunately, that the great results of the last war, instead of quickening the Christian spirit, have, rather, given rise to a heathen spirit."

III.

Dr. Foerster then makes the following prognosis of Pan-Germanism as developed by the *alldeutsche* propaganda: It is based on the correct idea that Germany must, in its mission as world-organizer, work beyond her own present frontiers. But it lapses into fantastic and utopian dreams when it believes that this can be accomplished by national expansion and by assimilating neighboring nationalities and civilizations. A lasting world activity is possible at present, not by means of an *imperium*, but only through the welding into a whole of individual nations. Many Germans have looked to the war for freedom from the circumscribed horizons of the nation and have hoped that a broader programme for international civilization would follow the decision on the battlefields. "It is incredible," says Dr. Foerster, "what propaganda is being made in this sense among the growing generation in the schools at many centres of nationalism. As if the incessant noisy boasting about the glory of one's own nation had any cultural value and did not, on the contrary, leave one's soul unsatisfied, notwithstanding all the romanticism with which the cult of national egotism has been disguised!"

German youth was ripe, Dr. Foerster thinks, for a revolt against this spirit and for dedicating itself to the international mission. And the works of Frantz were far more suitable for teaching genuine German thought than the abstract national philosophy of a Fichte or a Hegel. Young men are encouraged to read Fichte's "Reden an die deutsche Nation." "Has no one the courage, then, to say it openly that Fichte's claims to greatness as a thinker and a personality cannot be based on these speeches, which, in truth, are astonishingly empty, shallow rhetoric, and contain no clear guidance for the personal and national will?"

During these months of war, Dr. Foerster concludes, we have heard and read *ad nauseam* that the world was to be saved once more by *das deutsche Wesen*. How many of those who ended their speeches or articles with this promise could say that they really had spoken in the old German manner in which these words were originally meant and through which alone they assume their true meaning! How many have, on the contrary, adopted the manner with which the world has become disgusted, the imperious tone of presumptuousness and of national conceit, the tone which is begotten in the one-sided faith in a policy of blood and iron! Would that the new generation, he exclaims, could start afresh in this respect!

IV.

Dr. Foerster's article at once brought upon him the whole pack of Pan-German newspapers, such as the *Hamburger Nachrichten* and the *Ostpreussische Zeitung*, which reviled the daring iconoclast. The attempt was made to bring him to book for high treason. When this proved not to be feasible, the faculty of the University of Munich sent out the following proclamation:

"Professor Dr. Friedr. Wilh. Foerster has uttered views and used expressions about Bismarck, the German Empire, and its mission which must fill every German with indignation. The first section of the Philosophic Faculty unanimously express their strongest disapproval of the action of one of their number in voicing, in these serious times, and beyond the border of the Empire, opinions of such a kind and in such a manner; and its members will, with the utmost determination, resist any attempt to give currency by professorial authority to these opinions among students."

This, however, was going a bit too far for not a few German papers, among them even such as were opposed to Foerster. It was, after all, they held, a dangerous thing for science if opinions not in accordance with those generally accepted were to be silenced by threats and dictatorial decrees. The faculty, on the other hand, found a defender in the *Deutsch-evangelische Korrespondenz*, which held that "where high treason begins freedom of instruction ends"—a sentiment joyfully echoed in all the *alldeutsche* papers.

The editor of the *Friedenswarte* vigorously defended his publication against the insinuation that it was an *ausländisches Blatt*. On the contrary, it is a German periodical which had been published continuously in Berlin for seventeen years, from 1899 to 1915. Nor had it been the purpose of the publisher to remove it thence to Zurich, but ever greater difficulties were laid in its path. After a long struggle, when all other means had failed, the periodical, in the eighth month of the war, was removed to Switzerland. Nor did it thereby cease to be a German organ for pacifism. Not only do most of its readers reside in Germany and Austria, but its contributors are almost all Germans. It amounts, therefore, to a deliberate falsehood to charge Dr. Foerster, as an aggravating circumstance, with having his article on Bismarck published in a foreign paper.

Dr. Foerster himself wrote an article, "Zur Abwehr" ["In Self-Defence"], in the July number, in which he turned

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his attention directly to "these gentlemen whose aggressive world-political agitation has now for a generation thwarted the sincerely pacific intentions of our Emperor and has in other countries produced an entirely incorrect impression of the aspirations of the German people. . . . These gentlemen have not yet had their eyes opened to the fact that their time is long past and that a growing number of Germans are exasperated to see how certain *kulturlose Hetzer* [uncultured mischief-makers] in whose minds the best and most honorable traditions of the German race never became a living force have harmed our people, how fatally they have misguided public opinion, and how absolutely necessary is a political and sociological reorientation in the opposite direction."

To effect this, he continues, it will be necessary to envisage from a new point of view certain fundamental problems, such as the Central European problem, and to arrive at a clarification of opinion even before the conclusion of peace. "So long as only Pan-German opinions are heard, our enemies will not cease to harbor unrestrained thoughts of destroying us. Certain annexationists among us, in working out their utopian world changes, dispose of the precious blood of the German people as though it were ditch water; but just wait, there will be time of reckoning!"

And Dr. Foerster concludes his eloquent defence with the following words: "All those who desire peace but will not make a beginning by changing their habitual international manner seem, indeed, to assume that the war will last till ten minutes past seven and that peace will reign at eleven minutes past seven; until ten minutes past seven nations will hurl at one another all possible insults—and then, at eleven minutes past seven there will suddenly be peace. These believers in miracles forget that peace must be earned, not only by warlike exploits, but also by those silent acts of self-conquest through which a people becomes conscious of its own sins, shortcomings, and errors, and so produces an atmosphere in which the stubborn spirit of self-assertion may be vanquished and the thought of a new Europe may gain practical ascendency."

L. M. HOLLANDER

Singers and Satirists

Songs and Satires. By Edgar Lee Masters. New York: The Macmillan Company. $1.25 net.

Two Deaths in the Bronx. By Donald Evans. Philadelphia: Nicholas L. Brown. $1 net.

The Dead Musician and Other Poems. By Charles L. O'Donnell. New York: Laurence J. Gomme. $1.

Wind and Weather. By L. H. Bailey. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. $1 net.

A Book of Princeton Verse, 1916. Edited by A. Noyes. Princeton University Press. $1.25 net.

A Song of the Guns. By Gilbert Frankau. The New Poetry Series. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 50 cents net.

LET me open my review of "Songs and Satires" by the citation of two stanzas from a strong and good poem called "Supplication" which attains novelty by the very doggedness of its challenge to Omnipotence:

Dost thou not see about our feet
  The tangles of our erring thought?
Thou knowest that we run to greet
  High hopes that vanish into naught.
We bleed, we fall, we rise again;
  How can we be of Thee abhorred?
We are thy breed, we little men—
    Have mercy, Lord!

Wilt Thou then slay for that we slay?
  Wilt Thou deny when we deny?
A thousand years are but a day,
  A little day within Thine eye:
We thirst for love, we yearn for life;
  We lust, wilt Thou the lust record?
We, beaten, fall upon the knife—
    Have mercy, Lord!

In spite of evident virtues, of melodies that are enticements if not always innovations, of keen rhetorical turns of which authors of larger mould would be glad to avow the paternity, of unmistakable skill in the dramatic conduct of terse narration, Mr. Masters rarely equals his achievement in "Supplication." The reason for this shortage should be interesting.

The novelty of "Spoon River" lay in its syntheses; it re-plotted life. The removal of these strong articulations in a book of detached verse like "Songs and Satires" lays bare a poverty on the emotional and intellectual sides which belies the advertisement of wealth. Even in "Spoon River," in its picture of the world as a lazar-house, the simplifications of life at large and the human problem were enormous, and the present volume introduces us once more to a primary world, a world in monosyllables. I remember that "sex" and "hell" are both monosyllables, and I imagine that a man who had never tasted water or milk would be rather more inexperienced than one who had never tasted beer. Mr. Masters is obsessed by sex—elementary sex. He can unmask its pretensions, no doubt, but he is faithful in a sort to its perfidy. Asceticism for him is flesh-colored, and he touches the Holy Grail only to rub off on his own finger the single putrid fleck which the inadvertence of the Middle Age left on the sacred purity of that imperishable legend. He has discovered, like some other moralists, a select and sublimated brand of fornication in the light of which the common objections are merely vulgar: the samples he unpacks are unconvincing. Add to sex with its deceivings and undeceivings a disdain of mankind mollified by a few friendships of which that disdain is a prime cement, and you have the platform on which Mr. Masters bestows himself to philosophize the checkered and evasive world.

The treatment is unsure. In "Spoon River," whatever its defects, he knew his way; aiming low in that work, he aimed straight; but in "Songs and Satires" he swerves and lapses, he is inconstant to his path, to his tone, to his metaphor. Melodist as he is, he can produce metre which is, so to speak, begrimed with prose, and his phrasing, sometimes so apt, is capable of a sort of inverted felicity, of blemishes beyond care and beyond carelessness—blemishes that seem actually inspired. He writes for instance: "Lean fears along her wonder slipped." Our younger poets are above taste, like that German Emperor who declared himself above grammar.

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It is Mr. Donald Evans's turn to be electrified by the discovery that man is an animal with sexual propensities. One wonders what will happen when the dissemination of this truth throughout mankind shall have sapped the bases of originality. The decay of its spell seems prophesied in the necessity under which Mr. Evans finds himself of reënforcing the sexual with the exotic and the bizarre. Curious effrontéries, inhuman magnanimities, undreamt-of connivances, salacious abstentions, the inversions and paradoxes of lust—these are his province. He would hail as beatific the moment when he should hear himself called "deplorable" by some spinster of New England extraction or critic of Victorian proclivities. He will be indignant at the parsimony of my blame when I content myself with the remark that his verse is unedifying. Aspiring to diabolism, he stops short at impishness. As imp, he wears a mark of gravity; the chuckle is self-contained. He has some power of dramatic narrative, something that might mature into psychology, if it would enlist in the corps of truth and forsake the quest of paradoxical sensation. I might characterize his English in Ben Jonson's words about Spenser, "he writ no language." For this deficiency, Mr. Evans has not yet offered us the compensation of a "Faerie Queene."

There is a bright meekness, a tender alacrity, in the verse of Mr. Charles O'Donnell, which half suggest that Robert Herrick is plucking at the gown of George Herbert. Beside these masters, he is tenuous, of course, and his footfall is light even in the sobriety of cloisters. His very religion sometimes reaches or approximates that benign whimsicality which gave the earlier piety of our race stray moments of imperishable charm. I do not mind the mannerism that crinkles or crisps his diction here and there. We revolt from the affectation that struts; the affectation that pleads is quite another matter.

Mr. L. H. Bailey's "Wind and Weather" is much healthier than might be forecast from the shut-in, camphor-charged atmosphere of the note that faces the title-page. The following stanza combines sweetness with vigor:

> The wind, the wind,
> The raining wind!
> Thro' dripping sprays
> And grass-wet ways
> It winds and lifts
> It weaves and shifts
> And I walk apart
> Where the storm-rills start
> In the raining, raining wind.

The poems by twenty-five Princeton students which Mr. Alfred Noyes has culled from the collegiate output of the last six years justify both the venture and the institution. The young men have acquitted themselves well. The classic faults of youth in verse, aimlessness, rimlessness, and pithlessness, rarely infect these pages; youth has ceased to be juvenile. The opposite virtues of design, conciseness, firmness, may be the conventions of the hour, but conventions differ in value almost as much as individualisms, and the sound convention is the stay and safeguard of originality. Much of this poetry reflects more honor on the garden than on the plant. Its point lies, not in its intensity, but in its distribution, and it is the field of that distribution, the college, the nation, the period, by which the true cost is borne and the ultimate profit fairly reaped. Mr. Noyes, however, is lucky enough to be able to present at least two young men, Mr. Harrington Green and Mr. Francis MacDonald, who seem rather more than mere attestations of the salubrity of the environment. I know how many of the bills drawn on the future by aspiring youth and sanguine friendship and kinship are protested by that wary banking house, but praise remains lawful in the renouncement of prophecy.

Mr. Frankau, an artilleryman in Flanders, "jotted down the main theme" of his poem in a lull of the fighting near Loos, "when the gunners, who had been sleepless for five nights, were resting like tired dogs under their guns."

> By the ears and the eyes and the brain,
> By the limbs and the hands and the wings,
> We are slaves to our masters the guns;
> But their slaves are the masters of kings!

The verses or the themes convey impressions of energy and stupor in a singular composite effect which I shall venture to designate as trance. From a steady and uniform resonance which mimics the properties of a hush, clear articulations detach themselves from time to time and pierce the ear. Mr. Frankau is not without deftness in letters. As the realist among his books tries to write like the gunner in the field, it is natural that the gunner, expert in repercussions, should pride himself on writing like the realist in his study. In this aim Mr. Frankau has partly succeeded, and he becomes in a measure the victim of his success. If I visited a trench, like Mrs. Wharton, and found lilacs and tulips on the neatly ordered tea-table, I should admire and regret this consummation of propriety. I feel similarly as to these poems. Without terming them either decorative or rhetorical, I feel that the fact would have been more truly honored, because more deeply trusted, in an even plainer and simpler treatment than it receives from the address of Mr. Frankau. There are times when prose is more poetic than verse, and journal more inspiring than rhapsody.

O. W. Firkins

Correspondence

EXCLUDING SPEAKERS FROM HARVARD

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: It may well be a debatable question whether President Lowell erred in allowing Captain Ian Hay Beith to explain to Harvard students Britain's part in the war while refusing the use of a college building to Mrs. Sheehy Skeffington to discuss, among other things, the foul and unjustifiable murder of her husband by a fanatical English officer, and undoubtedly many Harvard men will fail to follow the *Nation's* argument in the matter. Nor will many graduates of mature age who have had dealings with impressionable youth in a professional way agree with the "recent graduate who wrote to the *Crimson*" that it was not the function of the University to "pick and choose" its speakers and subjects for students in college halls. On the contrary, the University has always exercised its best judgment in such matters, and boys are sent to Harvard because parents believe that the authorities will continue to do so. There are some things that even recent graduates have to learn by experience.

Professor Münsterberg did very effective work for the German side of the case from Harvard; he marshalled his facts in a sane and judicial way, and he built conclusions in a calm, logical, and philosophical fashion. His appeal

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was to reason and fairness and not to prejudice or hatred. His side of the case was the unpopular one at Harvard, but his manner of presentation was strictly in accord with the best traditions of exposition and argumentation. Not a straw was laid in his way by the college authorities. His day in court was accorded him with perfect courtesy.

Captain Beith, an essayist of distinction, came as an unofficial representative of the British Government, and in that character it was a fair inference that he would address students in the calm and logical manner of a good lawyer addressing an intelligent jury. The practice thus afforded the students for weighing evidence, detecting fallacies of argument, exaggerations, suppressions of the true, and suggestions of the false should be most valuable and, from a pedagogic point of view, entirely commendable.

Mrs. Skeffington, on the other hand, did not represent the Government of any of the belligerent or neutral nations. She sprang into public notice through the wanton and brutal murder of her husband during the ill-fated Irish rebellion. She was not recognized, nor had she given any reason to be recognized, as an authority on international matters. The cases are so rare in history where a lady whose husband has just been murdered has spoken in public regarding pacifism, suffrage, and labor, with incidental reference to the harrowing experience just undergone, in language tempered with restraint and charity towards his murderers, that it is quite possible for a mere man to make a bad guess as to the probable character of the lady's speech. Nor does it by any means follow that the lady was excluded because she dared to criticise the British Government, as the *Nation* seems to insinuate by printing an absurd charge to that effect. The sufficient answer to all that is the continued and unimpeded activity of Professor Münsterberg in that very direction.

As for the exclusion of Mrs. Pankhurst, it may not be superfluous to point out that Harvard College is a place for serious study, intellectual training, and moral discipline; it is not a vaudeville stage, nor a station on the Chautauqua circuit. Mrs. Pankhurst represented a section of English society that sought to achieve political ends not by reason and argument, but by smashing tradesmen's windows, setting fire to private dwelling houses, and similar acts of barbarism and anarchy. As those methods of persuasion are exactly contrary to the ideals and methods of civilized life and have found no countenance in the United States, naturally the college declined to open its doors to that sort of propaganda. Anybody that knows college students and student nature knows that they will go anywhere in crowds for the sake of having a "rip-roaring, good time," it matters not whether to see a circus, a political convention, a revival meeting, a shady theatrical show, or anybody or anything that has raised or promises to raise a rumpus generally. It is the shindy that they—like ourselves in our callow youth—are after, and nothing else.

Mr. Lowell's fault, if fault it be, lies in the fact that he is a human being, not a superman endowed with divine prescience. Mrs. Skeffington's address turned out to be just what one would not expect under the peculiar circumstances. Mrs. Pankhurst has become, says the *Nation*, a vital prop to the Throne. What is the precise bearing of that fact on the question of Mr. Lowell's opposition to her before she became a prop and while she was a firebrand? Philip drunk behaved abominably; Philip sober behaves admirably. Some people didn't like Philip drunk, but do like Philip sober. Ergo, they displayed bad judgment towards Philip drunk! E. L. C. MORSE, Harvard, '77

Chicago, January 30

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The two editorial paragraphs in the current number of your paper dealing with Harvard College and Mrs. Skeffington are so extraordinary in their statements, omissions, tone, and style as to make an experienced reader of the *Nation* rub his eyes in bewilderment and wonder if he has not by mistake picked up the Boston *American*.

To begin with, the assertion that Mrs. Skeffington's lecture is not propaganda, since she is speaking "in the interests of the peace cause, of universal suffrage, and of labor," would seem to be met by the fact, oddly enough omitted by your writer, that the body which asked her to speak and to which, in the Harvard Union, she did speak, is the Harvard Deutscher Verein.

Secondly, Capt. Beith did not "charge admission for his cause." His lecture, which, by the way, was not at all propagandist, but merely descriptive of trench life, was given for the benefit of the Cambridge branch of the Surgical Dressings Committee.

Thirdly, it seems the very irony of fate that the charge of being "excessively partisan towards the war" should be launched at the Harvard authorities just when they are under heavy fire from some of their prominent alumni for proposing to dedicate a monument to those sons of Harvard who have fallen on *both* sides of the great conflict.

Finally, the cheap sneer at the "blue-blooded Back Bay conservatives of Harvard"—meaning the group of men who have from the foundation of the *Nation* supplied its most constant readers and a large proportion of its principal contributors—makes one wonder if the paper has—*quod Dii avertant*—changed its soul with its dress.

L. W. HOPKINSON

Cambridge, Mass., January 28

[The statement as to an admission fee was based on Mr. Fisher's letter to the *Crimson*. Incidentally we note that the Harvard *Alumni Bulletin* sustains the *Nation* on the matter of principle.—ED. THE NATION.]

AN ŒCUMENICAL SOVEREIGNTY

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The objection which is commonly made to the idea that the establishment of future peace must rest upon an association of nationalities to enforce it is that a nation will surrender its sovereignty and its freedom of action into the keeping of an authority external to itself. The objection is purely academic. The fact is that under the present theory of international organization this is exactly the status of every nation. Its sovereignty is in the overthrow of any nation that sets itself to question its might. The present conception of national sovereignty cuts both ways: it establishes its continuance and it also permits its obliteration.

The fact of the matter is that sovereignty, as defined today, is an outworn conception, and its establishment requires militarism as its basis. Nationalities are associated in a sort of feudal constitution. In the feudal ages, each unit of the state had the utter right to make war upon

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another. This right, because of a growth of a national and common economic interest, was abrogated and submerged into the conception of national sovereignty. Likewise in the present development of an international œcumenicity, the feudal definition of national sovereignty must give way to that of a more general conception. National sovereignty is becoming more a definition than a fact; it rests on general consent or a deeper law.

The definition of sovereignty must be modified so as to harmonize the facts of international association with the fact of nationality. According to the extant legal conceptions, sovereignty may be defined as "inhering in the nations severally and as existing *per se* in the fact of their nationality and as exercisable without limitation except as it meets the practical limitation of another nationality, or the conventional regulation based thereon." Because of this conception, a nation can do what it can in the association of nations, and in case of difference between nations the neutral nations whose economic rights in both nations are disturbed are without legal right to intervene or regulate the conflict.

The problem is to break down this feudal conception of sovereignty and rebuild another definition that will recognize the present œcumenical development of economic and industrial forces. It is a quite simple legal extension, which any court could make, and which if accepted by the nation would give a real basis for international law.

The following modified definition will conserve all the actual rights of nationalities and introduce the regulating conceptions: "Sovereignty inheres in the œcumenicity of the nations and is located for the purpose of administration in nationalities and its particular exercise limited to the boundaries thereof."

The practical implications of this definition would be valuable. It would give a definite status to the neutral nations. Since all forms of extra-territoriality would be impossible and particular sovereignty died at the international border, it would follow that a projected army would pass under œcumenical sovereignty. Preparedness would be, *ipso facto*, an act of international unfriendliness. This proposition is simple, clean, and if used as a basis for international law would found an expanding mass of legal doctrine with international sanction and enforceable by international policing.

OSCAR WOODWARD ZEIGLER

Baltimore, January 25

"POE'S HELEN"

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The notice of Miss Ticknor's book, "Poe's Helen," in the *Nation* of January 18, is not unjust or unwarranted. The book seems to the writer, who knew and admired Mrs. Whitman in the early 'seventies when he was "young and extremely green," as "ill-made," "unromantic," and "trivial," as it does to your reviewer. But the "note," nevertheless, pained him, as it undoubtedly would all others who ever fell within the influence of an indescribable and gracious charm of manner and spirit which Mrs. Whitman possessed for men and women, young and old. Her other published work in verse is not more "devoid of merit" than her poems on Poe, and it was singularly unfortunate for Miss Ticknor by this book to represent her personality as so merged in one episode of her life (and that an unfortunate one) as to make it seem "steeped in sentimentality" or herself as "a great bore."

The defect is in the treatment and not in the subject. Mrs. Whitman was, notwithstanding Miss Ticknor's want of support for her assertion, "of fine calibre," and that the attachment of George William Curtis, at least, for her was not to be explained by flattery on her part, or by his knowing her only in his "salad days," I think one can see if one will turn in the files of *Harper's Monthly* to the graceful and tender appreciation of her in the Editor's Easy Chair when her death was announced. And the writer well remembers seeing private letters to her from Walter Savage Landor and Elizabeth Barrett Browning, which showed that they found her correspondence no bore.

EDWARD OSGOOD BROWN

Chicago, January 22

SOUTHEY DOCUMENTS

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I am preparing for publication a work entitled "The Early Life of Robert Southey (1774-1803)." I should be grateful to any of your readers who might supply me with information concerning Southey not publicly known, or help me to locate any unpublished letters or other documents touching him that may remain in the hands of private persons.

WILLIAM HALLER

Barnard College, Columbia University, December 3

Blue Hill Bay

"*WHEN daisies pied and violets blue*" from his bright page arise
In the winter meadows of the mind, and wake to new emprise
Shy Fancy bred in a city room, and old desires play—
His violets and his daisies lead once more to Blue Hill Bay.

No yellow sands encompassing: Maine orchards sparsely creep
Down to the clamorous margins where rocks are stark and steep;
And chary, slow-voiced comrades, with sea-blown eyes of gray,
To tell me where the trout lie 'neath the pines of Blue Hill Bay.

How should he taste our blueberries by distant Avon's stream?
Wild strawberries winking through the grass? These now must be his dream:
Full fathom five a lobster thrives against the August day
When I shall eat my supper looking out to Blue Hill Bay.

To-night the great hill shrouds herself, green pines are ranks of white—
But now I see her violet breast glow in the westering light,
With a brown sail and the drifting gulls to steal my heart away,
And a quiet smoke in the scented breeze that ruffles Blue Hill Bay.

W. G. TINCKOM-FERNANDEZ

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BOOKS

The Care of the Insane

The Institutional Care of the Insane in the United States and Canada. Edited by Henry M. Hurd. Three vols. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press.

ANY one who has attempted to study the care of the insane in the United States, as also the care of the poor, the public provision of hospitals for the sick, or the development of our prison systems, knows how meagre is the historical material on these subjects. Each of them belongs to that undeveloped and almost unsurveyed field, the institutional history of the States. To treat historically the first of these topics means to go through the laws of all the States, to learn something of the work of the reformers responsible for these laws, to trace the development of private and municipal institutions as well as of State systems, and to formulate an adequate criticism of the effort or lack of effort of the States and municipalities in making humanitarian advances. No survey of the treatment of American insane during the last two centuries has before appeared; it is pleasant to find the difficult task so well executed as in this volume. It could be done only as it is attempted here, by a board of specialists under a general editor—the specialists being six members of a committee appointed in 1908 by the American Medico-Physiological Society. The first volume covers thoroughly the history of the subject to the present day, and the last two treat, State by State and Province by Province, of existing institutional facilities, methods, and research.

A prominent feature of the volumes is the decisiveness with which they assert the comparative worthlessness of all the work attempted for the insane before the appearance of Dorothea Dix. Little space, indeed, is given to Colonial or early State institutions. The name of so outstanding an institution as the first private asylum in the Middle States, the Pennsylvania Hospital of 1751, is barely mentioned, and we are not told of the material it furnished Dr. Benjamin Rush for his treatise on the insane, or of the fact that the State set apart for it a sum equal to that raised privately. Very little is said of the first State asylum exclusively for the insane, that built by Virginia at Williamsburg in 1772. There is no record of the agitation of the question of the proper treatment of the Massachusetts insane by Horace Mann in the General Court of 1829, or of the careful investigation of State conditions that followed. Very little is said, again, of the Hartford (Conn.) Retreat, or of the Utica (N. Y.) State Hospital, which with the Pennsylvania Hospital were probably the most influential agencies in bettering the condition of the insane before 1840. But the writers are justified in this sketchy treatment of the early institutions by the fact that in them the barest beginning was made. Many of the views held and promulgated by their officers were erroneous. Many of the hospitals were founded in a wave of enthusiasm which soon passed, and in a few years the State's insane were found in much their old condition. Not one of the States had a fraction of the facilities needed, public or private, and the majority had no special facilities at all. This state of affairs might have continued for some time had not Miss Dix come in 1841, a woman of strong purpose, vigorous mind, and unusual energy, to extend the work just beginning in a half-dozen commonwealths.

Miss Dix was thirty-nine years old when, undertaking to conduct a Sunday-school in the House of Correction at Cambridge, Mass., she discovered the sufferings of the insane there from cold, filth, isolation, and cruel keepers—sufferings then common in the prisons and almshouses not only of Massachusetts but of the world. She began a personal investigation of conditions in other districts, and recorded and systematized all she saw. Within two years, enlisting the support of Channing, Sumner, Mann, Dr. S. G. Howe, and other public men, she had effected the first steps towards a comprehensive reform in Massachusetts, herself composing a very moving "Memorial" to the Legislature. Comprehending the imperative need for new and larger hospitals in other States, in 1844 she carried her campaign into Rhode Island and the next year into New Jersey. In the former another grim "Memorial" aroused an almost excited public abhorrence, but she accomplished her aim through two rich philanthropists, not the State. In the latter, which had no asylum, she labored with the Assemblymen, and obtained the passage of a bill for the New Jersey Lunatic Asylum—the first institution traceable solely to her efforts; and at the same time she obtained provision for a new hospital in Pennsylvania. "I have travelled," she wrote, "more than 10,000 miles in the last three years. I have visited sixteen penitentiaries, three hundred county jails and houses of correction, more than five hundred almshouses and other institutions." In 1845 and 1846 she successfully carried her work into the South and Canada, and in the latter year presented her first memorial to Congress asking for a grant of the public domain for the insane. A bill authorizing the grant was later carried, but was vetoed by President Pierce. In the fifties she carried her campaign to Europe and waged two epoch-making battles against disgraceful conditions in Great Britain and in Italy. All this work of Miss Dix is discussed in detail, though little of the material of the "Memorials," unfortunately, is presented.

To the period following the reforms of Miss Dix—that is, following the Civil War—is given two-thirds of the book, and it is treated under half a dozen distinct heads. The history is not one to make pleasant reading, and the description of the present care of the insane is emphatically depressing. In almost all the States the idea of State as opposed to county care has made very slow progress. At the present time in every commonwealth except New York not more than a limited number of insane are cared for in State hospitals, and the great majority are in county almshouses. As this volume remarks, New York is the one State where care "is carried out without any reference to county hospitals. The State must provide for all cases of insanity wherever developing, and jails and poorhouses cannot be used for the custody of the insane." New York's hospital facilities, it is well known, are sadly overcrowded, and must long be. In most of the other commonwealths the county care is of the most uneven sort: in some communities fairly humane, in many loathsome and cruel, in none scientific. New York, it might have been added, is the only State that is attempting work in the prevention of insanity, though Europe long ago showed America the way in this field. It is most earnestly to be hoped that within the next quarter-century all the American States will real-

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ize that a number of State hospitals adequate to the treatment of all the insane within their borders, making possible the destruction of local receptacles, is imperative. This provision is likely to cost not less than one-tenth of the whole State revenue. The States must also realize that these hospitals must be governed by highly trained psychopathic experts. Finally, they must take steps to offer in every considerable centre advice and treatment to those whose nervous troubles threaten to develop into mild or grave mental derangements.

Chapters in which only the specialist will be interested are given to the development of administrative methods in hospitals, to training schools for nurses, to the law of insanity, to insanity among the immigrants, the negroes, and the Indians, and to the special place of the feeble-minded. Of more general appeal, again, is an extended treatment of the modern theories of medical care for the insane. One wishes that these volumes might have more readers than it is at all likely that they will find.

Fiction in the Grand Manner

El Supremo: A Romance of the Great Dictator of Paraguay. By Edward Lucas White. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co.

THIS is a fiction upon the heroic scale, and in something very much like the grand manner. It is the work of an American in the narrower sense of the word, and its theme is American in the broader sense. In view of our present fumbling towards a rapprochement with Latin-America, it may even be recognized as a theme of singular timeliness: it involves that whole question of the fitness for self-government of the Latin-American, and especially of the Central American nations, upon which so pressing an interest now hangs. We can hardly agree, however, with a recent correspondent of the *Nation* that the circulation of this book among Latin-Americans would tend to endear us to them. No doubt it is a sign that we are "taking notice," but for the rest it is an exhibit in favor of the Francias and the Diazes, frankly the story of a strong man dominating, by sheer force of will and personality, a situation and a race which need domination. The Dr. Francia who maintained his dictatorship over Paraguay for thirty years based his authority upon an unconcealed contempt for his subjects—for those, especially, in whom the Latin strain was strongest. It was this contemptuous strength of mind and hand which compelled Carlyle's admiration, and his "invitation," of which Dr. Reeves has reminded us, to some future writer of genius in America, to undertake the story of this "acting genius." Carlyle had in mind, to be sure, a potential genius of Francia's own race.

Francia of Paraguay has achieved a final act of authority by taking full possession of the present chronicler's imagination, and, we are tempted to add, of his judgment as well. Even after fairly yielding to the spell of his narrative, we may balk a little at his summing up of Francia as "indubitably one of the greatest men this world has ever produced, and, without exception, the most wonderful man ever born in either North or South America." Greatness is an uncertain word to conjure with. But Mr. White has interpreted here a very big man and a very human one. The time of the present action is exactly a century ago, two or three years after Paraguay had thrown off the Spanish rule. Though nominally the head of a republic, Francia had already taken the title of "El Supremo," and had made it good. In these pages we see him forcing his way, against the plotting of the Old Spaniards, towards an open and perpetual dictatorship. And in order that we may see clearly how this happened—how in many ways it was best for it to happen—the author employs the expedient of adding to his great company of authentic historical persons a single young American adventurer. Through his fresh eyes—and ears as well, since to him, the stranger, El Supremo may afford to unbend—we are able to understand the tyrant as none of his Paraguayans could. Young Hawthorne, to be sure, is an unmistakable figure of romance, a super-adventurer who has his creator's permission to dare anything with impunity. He is of an America which has just defended its new liberty, and he is eager that the other Americas shall share her good fortune. Already he has fought with Bolivar and with San Martin; and he is supposed to bring to Paraguay the deadliest intentions with regard to Francia. He has heard of the man's tyranny, and is determined to lead his victims, members of an avowed democracy, in revolt against him. And much of what he has heard he finds to be true. Paraguayans do go in deadly fear of El Supremo: acts of swift and terrible punishment follow disobedience or miscarriage of his orders. The young American's theory of civic and personal liberty is outraged at every hand. He therefore incites a conspiracy against the Dictator, and becomes virtually leader, being taken over by the Old Spaniards because of his race, his courage, and his technical skill in many of the matters which are essential to a successful revolution. Meantime Hawthorne has apparently been accepted by Francia at his face value, as a commercial promoter bent upon developing a Paraguayan monopoly of the *yerba* trade. They become intimates: Hawthorne several times saves the Dictator from assassins. A real liking springs up between them. Still, Hawthorne goes on with his conspiring until the hour which Francia has set for putting a stop to all that nonsense. He has known every step of the conspiracy from the outset, and when the hour strikes, he snuffs it out in summary fashion. The Old Spaniards go to their punishment; Hawthorne is spared because he has proved himself a generous foe, and that young gentleman leaves Paraguay (with the beautiful mate who has been suitably provided) pretty well reconciled to tyranny as practiced by El Supremo.

This, in slightest outline, is the story; but the chief distinction of the book is that it is not content with outline. It aspires to give, and succeeds in giving, a full and circumstantial picture of the place and the time which made Francia possible. The author is full of enthusiasm for his subject-matter: "Asuncion in 1816 abounded in striking characters, and was the scene of numerous romantic occurrences and dramatic events, projected on a singularly bizarre background, altogether unmatchable in human history." He is quite sure of his facts, and proud of having stuck to them: "Francia . . . is here portrayed just as history and legend have depicted him. Only his relation to the plot is fiction, and even there every episode in which he appears is founded on something recorded or traditional." The minor characters, moreover, are historical persons. Hawthorne and a handful of others are excepted; but the Preface contains a list of a hundred persons ap-

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pearing in these pages whom the author does not hesitate to cite as "real." Such attempts at accuracy and authenticity have not been uncommon with historical romancers, but the usual result is something very far from reality in the creative sense. The remarkable thing about this book is that with all its meticulousness of detail, with all its shifting kaleidoscope of scenes and incidents, with all its wordiness and excess of things, it does achieve the miracle: it comes alive under our eyes, glows with life and color, shows the true depth and richness of heroic romance. It is, after all, a very modest note upon which the author ends his Preface: "Faithfully presented are the conditions of an anomalous period, when, for a brief three years after Paraguay became independent, her strange colony of Spanish aristocrats, isolated amid wildernesses in their affluent Arcadia, with their exotic social atmosphere, gaudy attire, and exquisite manners, plotted and schemed to overthrow the long-suffering, stern, and implacable despot who was to exterminate them." We are fain, in place of all this, to submit the impression of a powerful work of the imagination, a work of genius such as might have pleased Carlyle himself.

The Future of Ireland

The National Being. By "A. E." New York: The Macmillan Co. $1.35.

THIS is not the first time "A. E." has published within the covers of a book his thought about the ideal Irish commonwealth. Some years ago "Coöperation and Nationality" stirred a great hope in the hearts of many Irishmen, and his last volume of essays, "Imagination and Reveries," contained an impressive pronouncement on the "Ideals of a Rural Society." The second paragraph of the present work begins: "It is about the state of Ireland, its character and future, I have here written some kind of imaginative meditation." But "The National Being" is more than this; it is in truth a considered summation and codification, at times attaining to a noble eloquence, of the author's social and political philosophy.

No real and permanent transformation of Irish life could have followed, in "A. E.'s" opinion, from the Home Rule bill alone. Such a result must come, not from any remedial legislation super-imposed from without, but from the determined personal efforts of the people of Ireland, translating into action the results of organized constructive thought on the ideals of rural civilization. "National ideals" must be created "which will dominate the policy of statesmen, the actions of citizens, the universities, the social organizations, the administration of state departments, and unite in one spirit urban and rural life." If this should not be done and Ireland should set about the business of being a nation in any other way, there is reserved for it the fate "of any of those corrupt little penny-dreadful nationalities which so continually disturb the peace of the world with internal revolutions and external brawlings."

There are many problems to be solved, but "A. E." believes that the most urgent of all is "how to enable the countryman, without journeying, to satisfy his economic, social, intellectual, and spiritual needs." While admitting that the results of the land-war have been a distinct step towards the solution of this most fundamental difficulty, in that the land is no longer in the hands of the landlord, he has shown that the back of the problem is not by any means broken, for the drain of emigration continues. Lamenting the lack of a distinct philosophy of rural life he suggests that it may be worth while "enquiring to what extent the wisdom of a Solon, a Rousseau, an Alexander Hamilton might be applied to a rural community." He recognizes the danger of the almost universal custom of regarding the rural problem solely from the economic point of view "as if agriculture was a business only, and not a life."

In his ideal Irish commonwealth he would have politics, government, and industry administered by special legislative bodies; a County Council for local needs, with its special committees to deal with the various aspects of the business of production and distribution, and with parochial and communal life; these committees to have the power of sending representatives to a General Council, thus insuring a particular supervision of the interests of each department of productive life. In addition, he would have a National Council, a sort of High Court of Appeal, preserving a balance and preventing the possibility of a serious clash of interests at the lesser tribunals. A supreme council of the kind outlined would seem to be especially desirable in a country like Ireland, where unanimity of opinion is usually so difficult to attain. This hierarchy of legislative bodies, concentric circles of authority, so to speak, would render impossible the permanence of any kind of disproportion or disharmony in the national life, and would secure an effective and sympathetic interrelationship among parish, county, and nation. "A. E." is the uncompromising foe of that individualism which in the past has done so much to disintegrate life in Ireland. He demands a national solidarity, at once spiritual and material. Federative cooperation is, then, the distinctive note of his programme, coöperation in production and in distribution, the former for the country, the latter for the town. The opposition sure to come, at first, from the capitalists, he would dispose of by a systematic boycott of the capitalists' goods—no article of food or clothing to be used by the worker unless it is the certified product of a coöperative firm. A Minister of Labor, also, would occupy an important place in "A. E.'s" scheme, his principal function to be the fatherly protection and guidance of the proletarian, and the defence of working-class interests against the possible aggressions of capitalism.

He has no desire, however, to force the genius of his country into standardized moulds. To those who may regard his plan as an attempt to make people live in the Second Book of Euclid he replies that "always there will be enterprising persons—men of creative minds—who will break away from the mass and who will insist, perhaps rightly, on an autocratic control of the enterprises they have founded, which were made possible alone by their genius, and which would not succeed unless every worker in the enterprise was malleable by their will."

Perhaps the most attractive idea in the book is the suggestion that a system of *civil* conscription should be adopted, by which every Irishman should spend two years of his early manhood "employed under skilled direction in great works of public utility, in the erection of public buildings, the beautifying of our cities, reclamation of waste lands, afforestation, and other desirable objects." In fifty years, "A. E." is persuaded, Ireland could become "as

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beautiful as ancient Attica, as majestic as ancient Egypt" through a service given "not for the destruction of life, but for the conservation of life."

The writer of this stimulating book has deserved well of his native land. "The National Being" is sure, even in the present, to realize the author's modest hope that it may "provoke thought on fundamentals."

Babylonia

History of Babylon from the Foundation of the Monarchy to the Persian Conquest. By Leonard W. King. New York: Frederick A. Stokes Co.

THE Mesopotamian campaign lends interest to Mr. King's second volume of his history of Babylonia and Assyria, which deals with the most important epoch in the ancient history of the Euphrates Valley. In the first volume, under the sub-title of "History of Sumer and Akkad" (see *Nation*, July 27, 1911), Mr. King dealt with the earliest records, embracing a period during which the Euphrates Valley comprised a number of rival independent states. From an historical point of view, the main feature of this earliest period is the struggle between two diverse ethnic groups—the Sumerians, a non-Semitic people, conquerors of the Euphrates Valley, and the Akkadians, who were Semites and seem to have been the older settlers.

These Akkadians, who entered the valley from the northwest, were constantly reinforced by migrations until we find them gradually encroaching upon the domain of the Sumerians in the southern half of the valley. The struggle between the two races ebbed to and fro, with, however, a steady gain on the part of the Akkadians, until about 2200 B. C., when the Semites definitely assumed the ascendency, although frequently threatened by the Sumerians settled in one centre or the other.

Mr. King now takes up the thread with the establishment of a Semitic dynasty in Babylon in 2225 B. C. The mass of material is skilfully arranged so as to afford a continuous narrative. Mr. King carries his readers down to the close of the Babylonian Empire through the conquest of Babylon by Cyrus in 539 B. C., and rapidly sketches the subsequent history through the Greek period to the threshold of our own era. The value of Mr. King's treatment is in his endeavor to stress the deeper significance of the chief events of the empire centring in the city of Babylon. A good illustration is furnished by the initial chapter, which discusses in an illuminating manner the position of Babylon in antiquity. Mr. King shows that the position of Babylon at a dominating juncture of the Euphrates and Tigris explains why it, rather than any of the older centres further south, such as Erech, Nippur, Lagash, or Ur, became the centre of a unified empire of the Euphrates Valley. There were two entrances to the valley, one along the Euphrates, the other along the Tigris. Both rivers take their rise in the mountainous regions northeast of Asia Minor, and it was always across this region by either route that waves of migration or invasions reached the valley proper. Thus it is interesting to note how throughout the history of the Euphrates Valley after the downfall of the Babylonian Empire the successors of the old Akkadians, the Persians, Greeks, Romans, and Arabs, in turn invariably fixed the centre at the point close to ancient Babylon. The Greek capital was at Seleucia, about forty miles to the north of Babylon, but shifted from a position on the Euphrates to the Tigris. Later Ctesiphon, directly opposite Seleucia, became the centre, and when the Arabs took possession Baghdad was founded a few miles north of Ctesiphon. The Euphrates Valley was thus always at the mercy of migratory waves or invasions from the north, and even Semitic control of the region was menaced by hordes from Asia Minor, like the non-Semitic Hittites.

The names of the rulers of the so-called first dynasty of Babylon, including Hammurapi, are distinctly of West Semitic origin: Mr. King inclines to regard the rulers as part of the "Ammoritic movement" from Assyria into Babylonia. We now see more clearly the significance of a theory, first advanced by Professor Clay, of Yale, in which he gives to these Ammorites a prominent part in shaping the political destinies of the Euphrates Valley, and in influencing the religious beliefs current in that district. The Ammorites were probably not the earliest Semitic settlers in the valley, for there was also a constant stream of migration issuing more directly from northern Arabia, the great home of the Semitic Bedouins. But the Ammorites form a more important element that left a permanent impress on the country. They appear to have been particularly successful in absorbing the Sumerian culture and in adapting it to their own needs. Their rulers retained control for a period of three hundred years; it is they who established a strategic capital at Babylon. These Semitic rulers succeeded in keeping the Sumerians in the swampy and less accessible districts of the stream to the south, but strangely enough they failed to establish a strong bulwark in Assyria against the great hordes of Asia Minor. As a consequence, we find the Hittites invading the Euphrates Valley and a Hittite ruler on the throne for a short time.

Mr. King's latest volume also considers the rise of Assyria, north of Babylonia, as an independent state. The Babylonians left the district of lower Mesopotamia, lying on both sides of the Tigris, an outlying province: failure to control it led eventually to the downfall of Babylonia herself. Assyria should have been utilized by the Babylonians as a bulwark from northern encroachments. Instead they failed to prevent Assyria from growing into an empire which, though limited in extent, became from position and circumstance a first-class military Power. In following the interesting narrative one is struck by the disastrous consequences to Babylonia of long foreign rule by a dynasty known as the Cassites. The Cassites came from the northeast of Mesopotamia, and it is significant of the difficulties encountered even by the Semites in maintaining themselves that they finally succumbed to the old Sumerian inhabitants. The latter likewise developed signs of weakening, which made the valley a comparatively easy prey to the strong but uncultured invaders from the east. Assimilation of the Cassites, Sumerians, and Akkadians proceeded for a half-millennium, but with no advance in civilization. Art shows distinct signs of decay, nor is the Cassite period marked by any literary achievements. Mr. King's investigations show that the great cultural progress belongs to the age of Hammurapi and the centuries immediately preceding, which were marked by a combination of Sumerian and Akkadian.

By a strange vicissitude of fortune, Babylonia, although eventually conquered by the stronger Assyria, survives the conqueror. As a military power Assyria exhausted her vitality and finally fell a prey to the hordes coming from

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the north. Babylonia was spared to enjoy a brief renaissance of her ancient glory under Nebuchadnezzar, who, with his father, was the builder of a new Babylon; for in 689 B. C. Sennacherib, King of Assyria, exasperated by frequent rebellions to the south, set an example of "frightfulness" by destroying the time-honored city with its great temples and treasures. The new Babylon lay in ruins buried beneath a series of mounds until 1899, when the German Oriental Society began systematic excavations, which Mr. King has set forth in his second chapter.

The author is careful not to belabor the reader with too many details, and the student must still turn to Rogers's comprehensive "History of Babylonia and Assyria." In his first volume Mr. King proved to be an admirable philologist and editor of texts. In this volume he reveals himself as a genuine historian who illuminates his subject by coordinating and interpreting facts. The work is replete with illustrations, of which thirty-two plates are satisfactory, whereas the wood figures and illustrations in the text itself in many cases are crude.

Notes

ANNOUNCEMENT of the forthcoming publication of "The Chosen People," by Sidney L. Nyburg, is made by J. B. Lippincott Company.

"Pirate Bridge," by R. F. Foster, and "The Wave," by Algernon Blackwood, are announced by E. P. Dutton & Company.

"Songs of Nature, Love, and Life," by John Wood Northup, will be published shortly by Paul Elder & Company.

The following are among the publications for early spring of the Bobbs-Merrill Company: "His Own Country," by Paul Kester; "Plunder," by Arthur S. Roche; "The Tiger's Coat," by Elizabeth Dejeans, and "Gullible's Travels, Etc.," by Ring W. Lardner.

Dodd, Mead & Company announce for publication on Saturday "Bittersweet," by Grant Richards; "Thorgils," by Maurice Hewlett; "Religion for To-day," by John Haynes Holmes, and "Hawaii Past and Present," by William R. Castle, jr. (new edition).

Houghton Mifflin Company announces the publication of the following: "The Spring Song," by Forrest Reid; "Jerry," by Arthur Stanwood Pier; "The Issue," by J. W. Headlam; "Life of Ulysses S. Grant," by Louis A. Coolidge: "Essays in Wartime," by Havelock Ellis; "Lines Long and Short," by Henry B. Fuller, and "Letters to a Young Housekeeper," by Jane Prince.

THE establishment of a new quarterly journal dealing with Polish affairs, entitled *The Polish Review*, is announced by George Allen & Unwin, of London.

We are requested to announce the election of the following officers for 1917 at the recent meeting of the Modern Language Association at Princeton: President, Kuno Francke, Harvard University; vice-presidents, O. M. Johnston, Stanford University; A. C. L. Brown, Northwestern University, and C. F. Kayser, Hunter College. The next meeting of the Association will be held under the auspices of Yale University at New Haven, December 27-29, 1917.

Included in the Macmillan Company's list of fiction for the spring season are the following: "His Family," by Ernest Poole; "Jerry," by Jack London; "The Nursery," by Eden Phillpotts; "Lost Endeavor," by John Masefield, and Fyodor Dostoievsky's "The Eternal Husband," translated by Constance Garnett. Two new volumes by H. G. Wells are announced by this firm, "God the Invisible King" and "Italy, France, and Britain at War." In biography and history the following interesting announcements are made: Volume V of George Earl Buckle's "The Life of Benjamin Disraeli: Earl of Beaconsfield"; "The Life of Abraham Lincoln," by Ida M. Tarbell; "The History of the United States: Vol. IV, Federalists and Republicans, 1789 to 1815," by Edward Channing.

THE Cambridge Historical Series, edited by G. W. Prothero and published by the Cambridge University Press and the Putnams, has recently been enriched by the addition of "Germany, 1815-1890, Vol. I, 1815-1852," by Sir Adolphus William Ward ($3). Few English writers are so well qualified to speak on German political affairs as the author of the present volume, and the immediate result is a book which displays profound learning and a thorough mastery of the subject. The student of the period under discussion will welcome the book and turn to it repeatedly with great profit. But it is a book for students only and primarily, even for students a book of reference. The general reader will be disturbed and somewhat confused by the unconnected treatment of political life in each German state in turn, and he will also find the narrative dry and matter-of-fact. The lack of synthetic philosophic comment is to be noted and regretted. The book concludes with an excellent bibliography, a good index, and a map of the German Confederation.

THE purpose of Capt. Harrison S. Kerrick, of the Coast Artillery Corps, U. S. Army, in "Military and Naval America" (Doubleday, Page; $2 net) is to give, in non-technical form, general information about our army and navy. He describes, for example, the cavalry, the General Board of the Navy, the Adjutant-General's Department, the Marine Corps. In the accomplishment of this purpose, he has compiled an encyclopædia, as it were, of the two departments treated, but an encyclopædia to be read as well as consulted, in which the arguments are not alphabetical, but follow in the main, though not always in the same order, the various rubrics of the service registers. To these obvious inclusions are added chapters on subjects foreign to the registers, such as Military Policy, Submarine Defence, National Guard, Education, Warships, Rifle Practice, Boy Scouts. The book is fully illustrated and contains much statistical information conveniently tabulated for reference. Two of the tabulations, with a geographical and historical map of "Military and Naval America," are, on account of their size, inserted in a pocket inside the covers. Doctor James, of the University of Illinois, furnishes an able introduction, and the book is rounded out by a short but adequate glossary of military and naval terms, followed by a sufficient index. A book of this sort is necessarily in a measure an affair of compilation and quotation, and unless the aim of the author be criticism and discussion, no field is offered for the imagination or for originality—the Navy Department is a fact, like the moon. Hence the task of the author should be judicious compilation aided by such original contributions as will assure an agreeable continuity in the text, and will properly adjust the extension of its various parts in the ratio

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of their importance. In this task, Captain Kerrick has been successful: his book is thoroughly up-to-date, has been checked by competent official authority, and may be safely recommended, not because wars and rumors of wars fill the air, but because our people ought to know more about the two great executive departments whose activities might some day be a real and significant thing for every man and woman in the land.

NO scholar in our own generation perhaps has made so many bold and novel yet solid contributions to our knowledge of the ancient world as Prof. Eduard Meyer. Six months after the war broke out his powerful mind concentrated itself on England, and speedily brought forth a volume which has been translated under the title, "England, Its Political Organization and Development and the War against Germany" (Boston: Ritter & Co.; $1 net). It is one of the best examples of the attitude of German professors who accept unquestioningly the German Chancellor's theory of the origin of the war. In sketching with much insight and grasp England's political development since the sixteenth century, Professor Meyer emphasizes the corruption, hypocrisy, and selfishness of her governing classes in the past, the tyranny ever exercised (as also in America) by their regard for conventional "good form," and the evils inherent in the shifting shufflings of a rule by majority votes. In contrast to it he pictures the German state, which "is of much higher importance than any one of the individualistic groups, and eventually is of infinitely more value than the sum of all the individuals within its jurisdiction." For him the great significance of the war is that "the time had arrived when two distinct forms of state organization must face each other in a struggle for life or death, one of the two being retrograde and sterile, while the other was far in advance of it and full of creative possibilities." Needless to say, Professor Meyer displays in this volume his usual extraordinary capacity for assimilating and expounding information, but his statements are often only half-truths because he shows only one side of the shield.

LAFCADIO HEARN'S two volumes of "Interpretations of Literature," edited by Professor Erskine and published in 1915 by Dodd, Mead & Company, were reviewed at some length in the *Nation*. Of the "Appreciations of Poetry," issued by the same publishers ($3.50 net) and now put together in the same way from the lecture notes of Hearn's Japanese pupils, not much need be said, since they are similar in general character. Rossetti, Swinburne, Browning, William Morris, and Matthew Arnold are the poets studied at greatest length, and to these are added shorter lectures on Tennyson, Charles Kingsley, Jean Ingelow, Robert Buchanan, Robert Bridges, and one or two others. As a whole, the work is more expository and less critical than the earlier collection, and it does not seem to us very wise in Professor Erskine to take this occasion to reiterate his statement that Hearn's lectures "are criticism of the finest kind, unmatched in English unless we return to the best of Coleridge, and in some ways unequalled by anything in Coleridge." Certainly it was still less wise to fortify such an exaggeration by sneering at Matthew Arnold after the manner of many cheap wits of the day. What might truthfully be said of the lectures, particularly of those in the present volume, is that they probably furnish a better introduction to poetry for young readers than any other book in the language. Hearn was addressing Oriental students and therefore had to assume in his hearers very little acquaintance with the customs and mythology of the West. The consequence is a good many pages devoted to expounding such rudimentary matters as the story of Proserpine, and the like, which may be judiciously skipped by the adult reader, but may be of good service in explaining Swinburne or Rossetti to the young (including college seniors who, like the Greeks they neglect, are always young). A large part of the book, also, is made up of running expositions of the meaning of poems. Sometimes this is done with a scent for subtle beauties and a knowledge of human nature which raise the exposition into the higher regions of criticism. Occasionally Hearn strikes us as almost too subtle. We wonder, for instance, whether the "real meaning" of Browning's "A Light Woman" is of the sly sort expounded by Hearn on page 179. But there is plenty in the volume to attract the maturest lover of poetry, and for many reasons Hearn takes a very high place in English criticism. So far as may be judged from internal evidence—the only evidence available—the editor's difficult task has been carried out faithfully and well.

WE like Mr. F. J. Foakes Jackson better when he describes what he knows and has seen than when he tries to reconstruct from books a picture of what he calls "Social Life in England, 1750-1850" (Macmillan; $1.50). The book is made up of his Lowell Lectures given in 1916, which were no doubt pleasant to hear as they are pleasant to read; but the sources he draws on are of the most obvious sort, and his criticism, when literature is concerned, is equally obvious. The chapter on Crabbe, for instance, amounts to little more than nothing. But when he describes the Suffolk of to-day, his own county, and the Cambridge of to-day, he becomes genuinely entertaining. There is, too, a pretty good picture of Cambridge a hundred years ago taken from the account left by Henry Gunning.

IT is one of the popinjay fashions of the half-educated to speak patronizingly of the work of any author not kept constantly before them, in advertisements and popular lectures, as antiquated. DeVries, we are often told, has overthrown Darwin—though DeVries himself does not think so at all. And Spencer, though it is admitted that he dominated the thought of a generation or so, and was even asked by one great nation to advise them at a crisis, he, too, is *passé*. As if truth ceased to be truth when it became older! But now no less a galaxy of eminent Americans than Root, Lodge, Gary, Gardner, Butler, Hill, Stone, Eliot, and Taft invite us to brush up a little on Spencer's essays on "The Man versus the State," edited by Truxton Beale (Mitchell Kennerley; $2 net). Each of these gentlemen contributes a critical and interpretative comment upon one of the reprinted essays, and David J. Hill an introduction. "Spencer," says the publisher's note, "looked into the world and into the heart of man, and what he found he set down faithfully and without swerving from the truth. Because of their lack of sentimental thinking and their lack of unfounded hope; because of their recognition of truths not altogether pleasing to our social dreams, these essays, after establishing the foundation of all our modern social thinking, were in a fair way

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to be neglected, if not forgotten by the world, until Mr. Beale conceived the idea of gathering certain of them together and making them into a book." It is impossible here to go into the comment of the several critics and interpreters. Particularly interesting are Elihu Root on "The New Toryism" and E. H. Gary on "Over-Legislation." But it is no disparagement to any of these men to say that the clarity and dexterity in exposition that characterized Spencer put almost any man at a disadvantage whose writing is set side by side with these paragraphs dictated so long ago. There seems to be in the comment no lack of genuine appreciation of Spencer; and his prophetic insight receives repeated mention. Mr. Beale's enterprise is a most happy one; there is much treasure in the wisdom of the great men of the past which should not be allowed to be submerged by the oceans of mist emitted or about to be set afloat by mediocre men of the present and future.

TRAVELLERS in Palestine cannot fail to distinguish between the fields owned by Jewish immigrants, mostly from Russia and Rumania, and those belonging to the natives, who are mainly Mohammedans. A vivid picture of this conflict, economic, social, and political, against the background of present war-time conditions, is given in Alexander Aaronson's "With the Turks in Palestine" (Houghton Mifflin; $1.25 net). Impressed by the Turk into service along with others of his race, the author writes with authority on Turkish military morale. Under the Turk no man is unfit for the army, the only ones exempt being those who are able to pay the usual *backsheesh*. Requisitions on the long-suffering country have always been part of the Turkish military economy, but under the German ægis it has attained the dignity of a "scientific" system. But wholesale sequestration of food when managed in a non-Moslem country by its fanatical masters, instead of conserving resources, has led to unspeakable conditions among suffering Armenians, Syrians, and Jews. Thus there is pathos in the author's description of the famous raid on the Suez Canal, when the half-starved, discontented motley under German taskmasters tried to repeat the feat of Cambyses. The story of the author's escape includes a sketch of the enchanting district of Mount Lebanon. Traditionally devoted to France, these sturdy mountaineers might have rendered invaluable service to an invading Allied army, which, in its turn, might have affected Turkish strategy in Asiatic Turkey, removed the menace to Egypt, and paralyzed Turkish supplies and communications. But the Turk has wreaked his vengeance on the defenders of inaccessible Mount Lebanon by surrounding and starving this sturdy Christian people until only a remnant is now left. Many such pictures of Turkey under war conditions are offered in this book by one who had the misfortune to be forcibly recruited.

WHAT a collocation! "Romance," by Sir Walter Raleigh (Princeton University Press; $1 net). Who of us does not immediately conjure up a picture of the richly dressed knight spreading his cloak for the sumptuous Queen to pass over the pool dryshod? Yet the thin volume, tardy though its appearance be, contains matter of quite recent moment—the two lectures which the celebrated English scholar delivered at Princeton on May 4 and 5, 1915, on the Louis Clark Vanuxem Foundation. He seeks not to re-create the glow of that magic world, but to correct some loose thinking on the subject of romance. In his first lecture he traces in large and simple outlines the fundamental aspect of the movement in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. To accomplish this purpose he goes back to the beginnings in Greek and Roman culture. Admirably luminous as the treatment is, one wonders why he neglects so entirely the element of allegory in that history. Not only his own standing, but a direct reference to Heine's discussion of the matter, indicates that he places a much lower historical value on that phenomenon than most scholars do. One questions, too, whether he does not see both too much and too little in "The Rape of the Lock." In the poem he discovers "a reassertion of sincerity and nature against the stilted conventions of the late literary epic." That sounds odd when applied to one whose whole passion was for books and who never appealed from them to that other great teacher of men, experience of life. Sir Walter's closing suggestion that romance is "the magic of distance" deserves pondering. His second lecture is addressed more exclusively to the scholar. He therein emphasizes, among facts that have been oft explained in the early influences towards romanticism, the little-noted influence of landscape pictures and gardening. His thesis here is paradoxical but not entirely new: that it was the popular demand for romanticism which created the movement, and not the movement which created readers of romantic poetry. It is remarkable that in a volume coming from a university press there should be permitted to appear such obvious oversights as "this passages" (p. 60) and "transmitted" for *transmuted* (p. 59).

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Emile Waxweiler (1867-1916)

THE subject of this sketch, who was killed accidentally at the end of last June, is widely known as the author of two excellent books bearing on the war: "Belgium, Neutral and Loyal," and "Belgium and the Great Powers." These books offer a lucid and generous exposition of the Belgian case, and they truly deserve the great success they have obtained: originally written in French, they have already been translated into at least seven languages. Since the war broke out, Waxweiler had devoted himself almost entirely to the defence of his country against the libels systematically published by Germany. To this end he not only prepared these two books, but he travelled extensively in Western Europe. At the time of his death, he was settled in London, his headquarters being at the London School of Economics, in Clare Market, where he was directing a sociological survey of the results of the war. In the case of a great number of people Waxweiler will remain in their memory as the best defender of Belgium's loyalty—but he was much more than that.

Indeed, Waxweiler was one of Belgium's leading thinkers, one who accomplished much constructive work that will retain its value. His contributions will remain a landmark in the evolution of sociology. On that account it would be a difficult task to write an adequate appreciation of his scientific work, and I shall not try to do so. But it may be permitted to a friend of his, one who owes him much inspiration, briefly to outline his life and activities.

Waxweiler was born in Malines in 1867 and studied at the University of Ghent—one of the two Belgian state universities—where he took the highest degree in the engineering department. We must bear in mind that in Belgium one cannot obtain such a degree without going through serious mathematical studies. When he left the University, he was the recipient of a travelling scholarship and spent a year in this country, where he devoted most of his attention to the study of labor questions and industrial organization. This journey left an indelible mark on his mind. He was one of the first fully to grasp the import of the new industrial and business methods and their influence on labor conditions. When a Labor Office was founded by the Secretary of the Interior, it was happily entrusted to him. Later the Belgian Government sent him on a mission to Switzerland and Germany to study economic conditions. In 1896-7 he was put in charge of the great census of industries and professions. Thus he had splendid opportunities to get an intimate acquaintance with social problems of various kinds. In 1899, or thereabouts, he was appointed professor at the School of Social Sciences of the University of Brussels; and in the succeeding years he became a member of the International Institute of Statistics, of the Royal Academy of Belgium, and the director of the School of Commerce annexed to the University of Brussels. Meanwhile, the Institute of Sociology had been founded by Solvay, to which I shall refer presently.

Among the many publications that we owe to Waxweiler attention should be given especially to his "Esquisse d'une Sociologie," issued in 1907, and the "Archives Sociologiques," published under his direction in the Bulletin of the Solvay Institute since 1910. The "Esquisse" is an original, powerful book. It is not a textbook. The author called it "a collection of sociological problems with some indications as to how to solve them in order to bring them under a common point of view." It is a stimulating outline, swarming with suggestions, certainly not a book for lazy readers. The "Archives" were started, as he himself explains, to apply the new sociological point of view introduced by him to as many topics as possible, in order to test it, to fix a new orientation, and also to render the new way of thinking more subtle and fruitful. In a word, this point of view is essentially functional; it leads to the consideration of social facts, not under their formal, external, descriptive aspect, but rather under their genetic, internal, explanatory aspect. The idea was to disengage the mechanism of social activities from their dead gangue, and, naturally, if there be a science of social phenomena, it is only by the study of functions, not of forms, that it can be successfully approached. It is hardly necessary to say that Waxweiler's constructions are essentially based on the biological sciences. He had been deeply influenced by the work of Jacques Loeb, H. S. Jennings, and Georges Bohn, among others, and after his excellent mathematical training at the University of Ghent he had become more and more interested in biological research. His knowledge of biology, though not extensive, was marked by full acquaintance with the biological method. Being equally well trained as an economist, a statistician, and a biologist (in the sense I have given), he was well equipped to start his sociological investigations.

The "Esquisse" displayed a vast programme of research that Waxweiler had been obliged to outline as a working basis for the Institute of Sociology. This Institute had been founded a few years before, thanks to Ernest Solvay's munificence, and entrusted to Waxweiler in 1902. Under his direction it soon became one of the most hospitable places in Belgium: if a stranger applied for admission, nobody ever inquired into his religious or political ideas; all willing workers, big or small, were welcome. Waxweiler had taken great pains to organize this institute, to make of its library, catalogue, and collections an almost perfect instrument, to give to it that atmosphere of freedom and scholarship which is in itself an inspiration. He devoted much time, too much perhaps, to its administration, but these efforts are not lost. We sometimes attach too much importance to the literary output of a man; it is surprising to see how much can be accomplished when administrative work is conducted by one who is not simply an administrator. During the last years, the Institute had acquired much prestige, owing partly to the personality of its director and partly to its Bulletin, each number of which brought together an amazing harvest of material. To show how much this young review had come to be appreciated, it is enough to say that the proud sociological societies of Berlin and Vienna had asked at the beginning of 1914 that a German edition might be published for them, and, if I am not mistaken, the first number of this edition was in the press in Brussels when the war broke out.

It is a genuine tragedy that at the moment when he had succeeded in completing the organization of this Institute to a point where it was possible to obtain the widest variety of information on sociological matters, when he had gathered round him able specialists in many fields, when all was ready for more and better work, that then in the very prime of his life Waxweiler should have died.

This Institute, with its encyclopædic repertories and col-

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lections, will remain an adequate memorial to his synthetic and vigorous mind. He was a big-hearted and clear-minded man; he had enough imagination and kindness to be tolerant to all, and he was possessed of that warm sympathy without which sociological studies (and indeed any studies) remain hopelessly barren. Although he was very learned, he was extremely alive, and his good will, sympathy, broad-mindedness, his constant effort to place himself at another's point of view, radiated from his whole being. This was the secret of his great influence over his friends and over the students. During the last years that preceded the war, he had organized each summer a "sociological excursion" throughout the country, which was attended by students from all the universities of Belgium, even from Louvain. He himself directed the excursions in the most genial way and gave incidentally admirable lessons of good citizenship, social service, and intellectual toleration. The most bigoted students forgot their innermost prejudices under the charm of his teaching.

Such men are unfortunately so rare in Belgium that his death is an irreparable loss. He would have been more able than anybody else to keep the political parties and other antagonistic groups together for the great work of reconstruction after the war. And what will become of the Institute, of which he was the soul? I can only say that Ernest Solvay, the great old man (also one of the wisest men of Belgium, but one, unfortunately, who was too seldom listened to), who is now in Switzerland, has declared in a private interview that the Institute will maintain the same methods. I earnestly hope that the right man will be appointed as its director and that the spirit of Waxweiler will continue to dwell in that hospitable house—one of the places in Belgium most dear to me.

GEORGE SARTON

Notes from the Capital

President Arthur's Youngest Sister

THE recent death of President Arthur's youngest sister, Mrs. McElroy, calls up memories of the notable era in our national history during which she became prominent. Her father, a clergyman of scholarly tastes and habit, had supervised her education, which included a course at the then famous school of Emma Willard in Troy, N. Y. Her husband was the Rev. John E. McElroy, long in charge of a parish in Albany. When her widowed brother appealed to her to join him in Washington and undertake the duties of mistress of the White House, his son was a student at Princeton and his daughter a schoolgirl, so that, in the midst of her semi-public responsibilities, she had to play the part of a mother to his young family as well as her own, at a stage when they particularly needed such oversight. The factional war which rent the Republican party early in 1881 had grown all the more bitter since Arthur, originally a leader of the Stalwart group, had severed that affiliation and made an honest effort to be a President of the whole people, for his former enemies were trying to hold him accountable for the state of feeling which had borne fruit in the assassination of Garfield, while his former associates were denouncing him as an ingrate and a recreant. Most of the obituary tributes published on the announcement of Mrs. McElroy's death have laid their chief stress upon her charm of manner, her conversational powers, and her skill in harmonizing, at least outwardly, discordant elements among the people of the political world by whom she was surrounded in Washington. As to these matters it would be hard to say too much in her praise; but to those of us who recall sundry conditions which preceded her coming, she seems to deserve recognition on a more substantial score.

As President, Arthur resolved from the start that he would set up an impenetrable barrier between his public and his private affairs. In the former he regarded all his fellow-citizens as entitled to their interest; the latter he considered to be the concern of himself, his family, and their personal friends, and of no one else. This was a complete reversal of precedent. From Jackson's time down, the Presidents' families, sometimes by preference, sometimes through indifference, sometimes doubtless because they felt that endurance was a price they were bound to pay for their exalted station, had been treated as if they were everybody's property, and, by an odd vagary of the democratic theory, exploited for the benefit of an idle popular curiosity to an extreme which would have made the champions of royalty wince. What clothes they wore and how much these cost, what foods they ate, what luxuries they indulged in, how they spent their leisure hours, the smart things said and the mischievous pranks played by the children, furnished daily texts for description and comment in print, every incident being spread out with a fluid richness of detail that in the case of an ordinary family would have been resented as an impertinence. In his determination to put an end to everything of this sort, the President had in Mrs. McElroy the most efficient of allies; for she was not only deft in diverting the gossip-mongers from their quest, but so tactful in her methods that the diversion gave no ground for grievance. The young people of the household were never obtrusively in evidence; no lay sermons on the domestic problems of the day, the sphere of woman or the rearing of children in a rose-garden of culture, issued from her part of the premises; and the finest monument to Mrs. McElroy's reign in the White House is found in the fact that, with rare exceptions, the example she set has been followed ever since.

From Arthur's time, moreover, dates the first serious consideration of a scheme for a general overhauling of the old building to adapt it to modern needs. The President and his sister were not permitted to carry their plans very far; but it is significant of their spirit that the one thing which they did accomplish was the screening off of the corridor behind the north vestibule, so as to protect the occupants of the parlors from the inspection of every person who came to visit the President in his office, which was then in the second story. The screen disappeared, of course, when the sweeping renovation was made in Mr. Roosevelt's Administration, but in the interval it served very well the purpose of family privacy for which it was erected.

Another innovation launched by Arthur with his sister's aid was the substitution of a definite order of procedure at all social functions for the haphazard practices till then prevailing. Their code was worked out with care, after a study of what had been found practically most expedient under former Administrations, with modifications adapted from the etiquette of foreign courts. It has stood the test of a generation's use with few calls for

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a change, and, in its saving of confusion and avoidance of needless collisions, has been well worth all the trouble it cost. Every new thing that savored in any way of "aristocracy" was of course made a pretext for censure from Arthur's watchful critics; but he disarmed some of the false sentiment by a departure from the custom of letting callers be admitted one by one to the Presidential presence, having them instead assemble in an antechamber, where he made the round of the gathering, doing every one in turn the compliment of a little personal conversation. Mrs. McElroy, in a like interest, held during the season a series of Saturday afternoon receptions which were so general in their welcome that no visitor to Washington had an excuse for feeling neglected, and at which, after saluting the hostess and moving through the parlors, the guests were free to wander through a generous conservatory—a delight for a multitude of home-bred women in whose quiet lives a call at the White House figured as a momentous event. The memory of her which lingers with me as I write is of a dainty little dark-haired, dark-eyed woman, slender in figure, regular of feature, feminine in pose, with a graciousness of bearing as far removed from condescension as her modish costume was from extravagance of style, and a gift for saying a pleasant trifle in a way which left it echoing in your mind after she had passed out of view.

TATTLER

The Drama of Yesterday

SINCE the drama of to-day calls for little comment, I may perhaps seize the opportunity to say a few words of the drama of yesterday, as it is fitfully mirrored in a curious book which has recently appeared, "Fifty Years of a Londoner's Life," by Mr. H. G. Hibbert (Dodd, Mead; $3 net). Though Mr. Hibbert, true to his title, confines himself almost entirely to London, and never wanders further afield than Nottingham or Liverpool, I cannot but think that American theatre-lovers—those who, like Thackeray, delight in the very atmosphere of the playhouse, quite apart from its æsthetic pretensions—will find much to interest them in the gossiping chapters of this shrewd, kindly, tolerant observer of the "splendors and miseries" of mummerdom. He has quite as much to say of the miseries as of the splendors. He might have found a motto for his title-page in the refrain of Henley's ballade, "Into the night go one and all." Though there is nothing sloppy in his sentiment, he is keenly alive to the fact that, for every playgoer who has reached or passed middle life, stageland, in a city like London, is a land of Haunted Houses. I dare say you do not feel this so much in New York. Your stageland is so constantly moving "uptown" that few theatres have time to become steeped in memories and associations. Here one theatre will outlast many generations of actors; with you, one generation of actors will outlast many theatres. Yet even in New York I imagine that such a theatre as the Empire or Daly's (if it still exists) is pretty thickly encrusted with memories. In London, though there have been many demolitions of late, there are at least half a dozen houses still on the active list which no old playgoer can enter without recalling endless vicissitudes of triumph and disaster, repeopling the stage with beauty faded and vanished genius, and wondering, as he looks around the auditorium, when it will be his own turn to go the way of so many friends, and perhaps foes, whose shades seem to be ousted from their familiar seats by an upstart generation living only in the present. The artificial intensity, the hectic over-coloring, of life in the theatre makes its evanescence seem doubly tragic. Writing of the Gaiety, Mr. Hibbert says:

> No theatre in the world has such a complement of gray ghosts. To the public it appeals as the supreme expression of the "light side" of the stage. Its favorite performers have won and held the affection of the playgoer as none other have even come near winning it. Within its walls there have been amazing outbursts of emotion. But what a grim companion picture one could draw; what a pageant of dead drolls one could conjure up. . . . The Gaiety has seen such tragedies!

And he proceeds to recount, or rather to hint at, some of them. Truly, the gaiety of the Gaiety is a strange product of civilization. Here one may well say with Byron:

> And if I laugh at any mortal thing
> 'Tis that I may not weep.

Yet Mr. Hibbert is within the mark in saying that no players of our time have been idolized as were the Gaiety company of some five and twenty years ago. The leading actress of those days was Nellie Farren, a vivacious creature enough, but neither a beauty nor a genius—yet I have heard her greeted with such frenzies of enthusiasm as were never evoked by Sarah Bernhardt or Eleonora Duse, Ellen Terry or Ada Rehan.

Mr. Hibbert has even more to say of the music-hall than of the theatre. As editor of a music-hall paper, he has had unusual opportunities of acquiring personal knowledge of the history, politics, and economics of "vaudeville." He traces the evolution of the music-hall "from pot-house to palace."

> It is nothing to its discredit, quite the contrary [he says] that the genius of the variety stage was bred in the gutter and born in a pot-house. . . . The fact that such a man as Dan Leno, without education, without the inspiration of an author, without the discipline of a stage-manager, without any adventitious aid, should have been able to make so tremendously effective an appeal to the imagination, is the greater tribute to his genius.

Here, I must confess, it is hard to follow Mr. Hibbert's argument. To a man of fine character and lofty achievement, it is no discredit to have been born in the gutter, precisely because he has "burst his birth's invidious bar," and cleansed himself of all base and malodorous associations. But that is not the case of the music-hall. For something like half a century, it continued to reek of the gutter and the pot-house, and even now the process of disinfection is very incomplete. Mr. Hibbert's own pages bear constant witness to the havoc wrought by alcohol among the "artistes" themselves; and we can conceive the service they rendered the community by constantly chanting the praises of that chemical, and of the diversions associated with it in places even below the level of the pot-house. As for the particular instance he cites—that of the late Dan Leno—I have always thought it vastly to the credit of America that she would have none of that "genius." It is true he was a good deal less offensive and slightly cleverer than some of his eminent colleagues of twenty years ago. He had irrepressible nervous energy and a vein of low humor; but his sole "genius" was that of vulgarity. He was by no means the worst of the "female impersonators"; yet I never saw him making womanhood grotesque and contemptible without thinking of the immortal story of Emer-

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son's little son, who, being taken by his father to the circus, whispered to him, when the clown was at the height of his glory, "Papa, the funny man makes me want to go home!" That is exactly the effect produced upon me by almost all music-hall funny men. There has undoubtedly been a considerable improvement of late years, partly owing to the breakdown of the foolish old restriction upon the performance of stage plays in the halls. Yet the scent of the tavern clings to them still, as we may see from Mr. Hibbert's remark that "no factor of the music-hall programme has maintained his price so steadily as the 'red-nosed comedian.'"

Here is one of the many illuminative little passages in Mr. Hibbert's random record:

> Frederick Strange was Wildes's successor at the Alhambra, in which he was said to have invested a fortune made as a refreshment contractor at the Crystal Palace, which is quite true; but, like Morton [the father of the music-hall], he was a waiter first. Two more of the men destined to play a great part in the development of the modern music-hall were publicans' cellarmen; and two more were policemen.

In establishments controlled by men of such antecedents, what wonder if the standard of entertainment was low? Yet it remains something of a miracle that out of the tens of thousands of songs that have been written for the English music-hall during the past fifty or sixty years, not one—not a single one—should have the slightest chance of surviving, except, perhaps, as a monument of vulgar imbecility. It is related that Queen Victoria, struck by an air which she heard a military band performing, inquired the name of it, and learned that it was "Come where the booze is cheaper."

To return to the theatre, Mr. Hibbert opens a chapter on Memorable Productions with a pregnant remark:

> One of the lessons learned by the theatrical manager from the war is that his expenditure on the production of plays, but especially of musical comedy, had become outrageous, unremunerative, and ineffectual. When the curtain rose on one of last year's productions it represented a capital outlay of rather more than £10,000. . . . Part of the £10,000 was represented by the somewhile idle theatre, and part by the preliminary advertising. . . . But some £7,000 represented the cost of the scenery and the dresses. The piece achieved merely a *succès d'estime*.

This passage chimes in with an idea which has often recurred to me during the past two years. The wish may be father to the thought, but it seems to me quite possible that the war may do a great service to the English stage by making us all so poor that managers can no longer rely on spectacle, or even on "archæology," and will have to fall back on the last thing they now think of enlisting in their service—namely, brains. For the moment, there is a great deal of money in circulation, and the people who want theatrical entertainments are quite willing to pay the ordinary high prices for them. But when the slump comes after the war, it seems certain that the price of seats will have to go down, and that the days of lavish luxury in mounting will be over. Spectacular management is a thing that always cuts its own throat in the long run, for the simple reason that the manager becomes his own most formidable competitor, and must always be beating his record in show and expense. That is the true secret of the history—one had almost said the tragedy—of two very different men who bulk large in the recent annals of the English stage: Henry Irving and George Edwardes. Utterly different in everything else (for Irving was a man of genius in his way), they were alike in this, that they had no intellectual originality or literary perception. Each had the eye of a producer—that is to say, that, after having given carte blanche to his scene-painters and costumers, he could skilfully regulate the lights, group and animate the supers, smooth away incongruities, and give a fine surface polish to an entirely conventional and unimaginative work of art. But neither added a single new idea to the art of stage presentation. With unbounded opportunities, neither took one step in advance, such as we associate with the names of Max Reinhardt, Gordon Craig, and Granville Barker. Their notion of progress was to draw ever larger checks. And on the literary side they were equally barren of ideas.

Soon after George Edwardes died, I showed in these columns how, having blundered upon a really happy form in "musical comedy," he totally failed to put brains into it, and relied instead upon constantly piling up those paltry attractions which mere money can buy. The result was that his vein of success was nearly exhausted when "The Merry Widow" came to his rescue; but, even so, he died a poor man. Henry Irving, again, when he had exhausted the handful of melodramas and the few Shakespearean parts that were suited to his personality and his methods, had not the insight to discover or to inspire new plays that were of any value to him or to any one else. He fell back upon classic parts which were beyond his reach, and worthless modern pieces, French and English. Lord Tennyson, by good luck, hit upon a character which was admirably within his compass; but Becket and the old corporal in Conan Doyle's "Story of Waterloo" were the only successful "creations" of his later years. His greatness as an actor lay within a narrow range, and he had none of the intelligence which might have helped him to enlarge his activity, whether as manager or as actor. He never gave Ellen Terry a chance to play Rosalind; he never produced Shakespeare's most superbly effective stage-play, "Julius Cæsar," because it has three great parts instead of one; he was born to play Bishop Nicholas in Ibsen's "Pretenders," and it probably never entered his head to do so.

After the war, the successful managers, it seems to me, will be those who either have brains themselves or have the knack of discovering and appreciating talent in others. It is true that brains are rare, while the ability to pile up gorgeous spectacles is comparatively common; yet (in seeming defiance of economic law) brains are the cheaper commodity of the two. Here I am glad to find that Mr. Hibbert agrees with me:

> If a graduate in commercial business [he says], with a single-hearted love of the drama . . . and a sense of its recreative as well as of its artistic and moral responsibilities, should ever address himself, his own capital, and industry, and routine, to the conduct of a London theatre, controlling, not controlled by, his experts, the result would be interesting, and almost certainly a financial success of great magnitude.

For my own part, I should omit the last three words. I do not think that the most able artistic manager could, or ought to, take £6,000 a year out of the enterprise for his personal expenses. But if he were content with a third of that sum, I believe he would be much more certain of permanent success than the plunger in brainless spectacle.

WILLIAM ARCHER

London, January 11

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Finance

Security Markets and the Crisis

WHEN the announcement came last Saturday morning that relations between this country and Germany had been severed, the financial community faced the event with little surprise. On the Stock Exchange, after a momentary decline, prices of many industrial securities began an upward movement, which, before the market closed, resembled an enthusiastic "boom." It was the proclamation by Germany on the preceding Wednesday afternoon which took the market wholly unawares. Not since the sinking of the Lusitania, nearly two years ago, had the financial community been confronted with a more complete reversal of what it had conceived to be the probabilities.

Expectation had been all the other way. Ever since December 12 last, the day on which the German Chancellor announced to the Reichstag that he was ready to propose peace, the stock market had been adjusting itself, with brief but clearly marked interruptions, to the ending of the conflict which a great many people believed could not be much longer delayed. President Wilson's note published on December 21, asking the belligerents to state the terms on which they would consent to end hostilities, drew from Germany on December 26 a proposal for a "speedy assembly on neutral ground of delegates of the warring states" for an exchange of views.

In the light of what has happened, however, it is not difficult to recall a series of events which, by themselves, would have pointed strongly to such a development as that of Wednesday of last week. Most significant, perhaps, was the statement of the American Secretary of State on December 21, in explanation of the President's address to the belligerents.

The President's communication, to which Mr. Lansing's statement was supplementary, had intimated that he spoke as the representative of "a neutral nation whose interests have been most seriously affected by the war, and whose concern for its early conclusion arises out of a manifest necessity to determine how best to safeguard those interests if the war is to continue." The profound sensation created by these two utterances was in large part based upon the belief, then widely held on Wall Street, that our Ambassador to Germany, on his visit to this country in October, had brought definite information of Germany's intention to resort to the most ruthless form of warfare in the near future.

Moreover, the German Chancellor himself had said in the Reichstag on September 28 that "a German statesman who would hesitate to use against this enemy every available instrument of battle that would really shorten the war —such a statesman should be hanged." The day after the report of that speech was received, there was a sharp break in prices of stocks, and talk of renewed submarine warfare, with possible complications for this country; but the incident was soon forgotten—obscured by the newer conviction that speedy peace, through negotiation or through new methods of warfare, was a necessity for the Central Powers.

Whatever the result to ourselves of Washington's action in the present crisis, the disturbing effect on the security market, and indirectly on the country's financial structure, was immeasurably less severe than would have been the case had the crisis arisen while the crazy speculation of last autumn was in full career. Since that time prices of active speculative stocks have fallen 25 to 30 points; a tremendous and ill-propped speculative structure has been wrecked and cleared away, and, perhaps most happily of all, the notion of an indefinitely prolonged war, with America an indefinitely prospering neutral, has been exploded.

The convulsion with which the stock market on last Thursday received the news of the German decision was the most severe, in point of the declines which occurred, of any which the market has suffered since trading was resumed on the Exchange in the autumn of 1914. The course of the market, however, was curiously detached from the thought and convictions of the broader financial community. A momentary decline in prices of stocks was inevitable, merely as discounting the possibility of great alterations in the earning power of our corporations. As to the strength of the general financial structure, with the great surpluses of capital which have been piled up, there can scarcely be a dissenting opinion.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK

FICTION

Chambrun, Countess de. Breaking the King Row. Putnam. $1.50.
Hayward, L. The Way Hearts Go. Dutton. $1.50.
Pier, A. S. Jerry. Houghton Mifflin. $1.50 net.
Reid, F. The Spring Song. Houghton Mifflin. $1.40 net.
Sélincourt, H. de. A Soldier of Life. Macmillan. $1.50.

MISCELLANEOUS

Abbott, E., and Breckinridge, S. Truancy and Non-Attendance in the Chicago Schools. University of Chicago Press. $2 net.
Catalogue of the Exhibition of Shakespeareana. Compiled and arranged by Henrietta C. Bartlett. N. Y. Public Library.
Thompson, E. M. Shakespeare's Handwriting. Oxford University Press. $3.40.
Ward, L. F. Glimpses of the Cosmos. Vol. V. Putnam. $2.50 net.

RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY

Pearson, N. The Soul and Its Story. Longmans, Green. $3 net.
Price, G. McC. Back to the Bible. Review and Herald Pub. Co.

GOVERNMENT AND ECONOMICS

Brown, P. M. International Realities. Scribner. $1.40 net.
Corcoran, T. State Policy in Irish Education 1536-1816. Longmans, Green. $2 net.
Lippman, W. The Stakes of Diplomacy. Popular edition. Holt. 60 cents net.
MacDonald, A. J. Trade Politics and Christianity in Africa and the East. Longmans, Green. $2 net.
Mayo, K. Justice to All. Putnam. $2.50 net.

SCIENCE

Adler, A. The Neurotic Constitution. Moffat, Yard. $3 net.
Galbraith, Anna M. Personal Hygiene and Physical Training for Women. Saunders. $2.25 net.
Henderson, L. J. The Order of Nature. Harvard University Press.
Hitschmann, E. Freud's Theories of the Neuroses. Moffat, Yard. $2 net.
Pani, A. J. Hygiene in Mexico. Translated by E. L. de Gogorza. Putnam. $1.50.
Pfister, O. The Psychoanalytic Method. Moffat, Yard. $4 net.
The Declining Birthrate, Its Causes and Effects. Dutton. $3.50 net.

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Summary of the News

DIPLOMATIC relations with Germany were severed on Saturday of last week, Count Bernstorff receiving his passports and Ambassador Gerard being instructed to return from Berlin. At two o'clock on Saturday afternoon the President addressed Congress in person, announcing the action that had been taken and explaining the reasons that had prompted him to take it. In large part the address consisted of extracts from the correspondence that passed between the United States and Germany in connection with the Sussex case. The President expressed the hope that even now German acts might not match German threats, but added that should any overt act occur he would come again before Congress to ask for authority "to use any means that may be necessary for the protection of our seamen and our people in the prosecution of their peaceful and legitimate errands on the high seas."

IN instructing American representatives in neutral countries to announce the breaking of relations with Germany the State Department on Sunday directed them also to invite other neutrals to take similar action. This is a step which has already been considered with favor by a considerable portion of the press of some of the more important of the South American republics, notably of Brazil and Argentina. No indication has been received, as we write, of the probable action of Holland or Switzerland. Considering as they do on Germany, it is not unlikely that they may feel their hands tied, while Germany appears already to have thrown a sop to Holland by broadening the safety zone previously announced off the Dutch coast. The Scandinavian countries are believed to be taking counsel together, as throughout the war, but no decision has as yet been announced. Next to the United States Spain occupies the most commanding position among neutrals, and dispatches from Madrid indicate that, as a first step, a firm refusal to recognize the submarine "blockade" will be sent to Berlin.

ACTION came after three days of tense anxiety following the presentation at the State Department of the most amazing of all Germany's amazing notes. The document, which was handed to Secretary Lansing by Count Bernstorff on January 31, was apparently intended to serve two purposes. The main point was the proclamation, from February 1, of a so-called blockade of Great Britain and her allies by unrestricted use of submarines, details being contained in an annex to the document; secondarily it seems to have been intended as an answer to President Wilson's address to the Senate on January 22. Professions of cordial agreement with the principles outlined by President Wilson are illustrated by allusions to Ireland and India and by the statement of Germany's desire (calculated surely to make an especial appeal to American sympathies!) to conclude such a peace with Belgium as to insure that that country "should not be used again by Germany's enemies for the purpose of instigating continuous hostile intrigues." From the general zone of the "blockade," within which all ships under whatever flag are to be destroyed indiscriminately and without warning, Germany excepts a narrow path of safety by which one American ship a week may, under strictly specified conditions, reach and depart from Falmouth. This amicable arrangement the Imperial Government "sincerely trusts" that the people and Government of the United States will understand, and expresses the hope that the United States may "view the new situation from the lofty heights of impartiality, and assist, on their part, to prevent further misery and unavoidable sacrifice of human life." Subsequently, on making the discovery, so it was explained, that the United States had more than one ship a week in the transatlantic service, the German Government extended its permission to any American passenger ship.

A SECOND memorandum, prepared prior to the President's address to the Senate, was presented to the State Department by Count Bernstorff, together with the revised note. The most interesting difference in the form of the two documents is perhaps that in the earlier one Germany takes back "the freedom of action which she reserved in her note addressed to the Government of the United States on May 4, 1916."

ON the same day that the German note was presented Chancellor von Bethmann Hollweg announced the adoption of unrestricted submarine warfare to the Ways and Means Committee of the Reichstag. "We stake everything," declared the Chancellor, after excusing himself for excessive humaneness in the past on the ground that "the time was not yet ripe." The new light by which the Chancellor now sees the expediency of ruthless submarine warfare has also illuminated the entire German press, which obediently endorses the policy, although Capt. Persius, in the *Tageblatt*, strikes a discordant note amid the general chorus of enthusiasm by warning the German people not to expect too much of the submarine blockade.

ONE of the immediate consequences of the break in relations is a grave diplomatic mix-up. The interests of Germany in the United States will be cared for by the Swiss Minister; but as we write no decision has been reached as to American interests in Germany or the interests of various belligerent nations which have been entrusted to American representatives in hostile countries.

REPORTS that German ships interned in American harbors were to be taken over by the Government have been explicitly denied, it being pointed out that no basis exists in law for such a step. Federal authorities in various ports are, however, taking measures to enforce the laws of neutrality and prevent damage being done to interned vessels. In a few cases, notably that of the Kronprinzessin Cecilie, the precautions were apparently taken too late. Precautionary measures have also been taken for the guarding of bridges, aqueducts, etc.

WHETHER the threatened unrestricted slaughter has as yet been put into effect in any virulent form may be doubted. Technically, one of the first vessels sunk after the new policy came into operation was the Belgian relief ship Euphrates. The torpedoing of Belgian relief ships is, however, no novelty, nor apparently has the number of ships sent to the bottom or the manner of their sending during the first days of February revealed any startling departure from methods long in force. One American vessel, the Housatonic, was torpedoed off the Scilly Isles on February 3, but in this instance the commander of the submarine not only gave warning, but appears to have exercised unusual diligence in providing for the safety of the crew. A case that may prove serious is that of the British ship Eavestone, an American member of the crew having been killed by shell-fire.

HOSPITAL ships, in the past by no means immune, are now officially declared by Germany legitimate objects of submarine attack. Alleging in excuse the misuse of hospital ships by the Allies, the German Admiralty on January 31 announced that these vessels "passing on the military route of the hostile army engaged in France and Belgium" would no longer be treated as such. An official British statement, denying the German charge, announces that should the threat be carried out reprisals will be taken.

JUST previous to the dismissal of the German Ambassador a peremptory demand was served on Germany for the immediate release of seventy-two Americans taken from three British steamers and held in German detention camps. Announcement was received from Berlin on Sunday that the demand had been complied with.

LAND bills under consideration of the Legislatures of Oregon and Idaho calculated to embarrass the Government in its relations with Japan were dropped last week in consequence of strong representations from Washington, made in view of the international crisis.

THE Immigration bill has been passed over the President's veto, the vote in the House being 285 to 106, in the Senate 62 to 19.

WITHDRAWAL of the American expeditionary force in Mexico was completed on Monday, when Gen. Pershing crossed the border into the United States. The immediate dispatch to Mexico City of Ambassador-elect Henry P. Fletcher was decided on last week.

NEWS from Greece has been scanty. The Allied flags were duly saluted by the King's forces on January 30, and dispatches from London of February 2 declared that a request had been made for the raising of the blockade on the ground that the demands of the Allies had now been complied with, including "in great measure" the transfer of the troops to the south.

AN alleged plot to murder the British Premier, Mr. Lloyd George, and Arthur Henderson, member of the War Council, was revealed on January 31 by the arrest of three women and a man. The case, which opened on Saturday of last week, appears sufficiently extraordinary, the means contemplated for the assassination having been poisoned darts to be aimed at the Premier when he was playing golf.

GERMAN colonies, according to the British Colonial Secretary, Walter Hume Long, will not be returned to Germany at the end of the war. The *Daily Chronicle*, commenting on the statement, points out that the matter is one in which England is "morally pledged" to the dominions.

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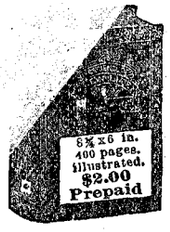

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